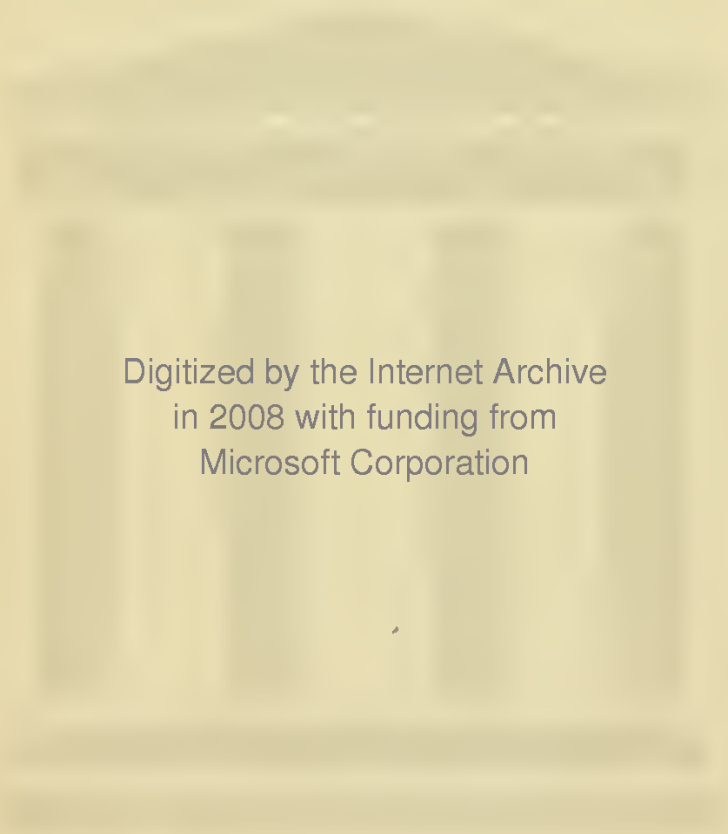

THE

LIFE

OF

GENERAL

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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GEORGE WASHINGTON,

BY JOHN KINGSTON.

"*His fame bounded by no country,*
Will be confined to no age."

BALTIMORE:

Published by J. Kingston; and sold by all the principal Book-sellers throughout the United States.

A. Miltenberger, *print.*

1813.

DISTRICT OF MARYLAND, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on this seventeenth day of November, in the Thirty-seventh year of the Independence of the United States of America, JOHN KINGSTON of the said District hath deposited in this office the Title of a Book the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words and figures following, to wit:....

"The Life of General George Washington, by John Kingston. "His fame bounded by no country will be confined to no age."

In comformity to the Act of Congress of the United States entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the time therein mentioned," and also to the act entitled, "an Act Supplementary to the act entitled, 'an Act for the encouragement of learning by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of Designing, Engraving, and Etching, Historical and other prints."

PHILIP MOORE,

Clerk of the District of Maryland.

PREFACE.

WHAT was said by good Saint Polycarp when on his way to martyrdom, "Lord to what times hast thou reserved me," might, with great propriety, have been repeated by General George Washington when leading on, through various success, the forces of America, in their arduous struggle with Great Britain. Much has been said, and much still remains to be said on the rise, progress, and consequences of the American Revolution....An event which so much astonished the parent state as well as others. The revolution which converted the thirteen British provinces into thirteen Free and Independent States, may, with propriety, be considered the source from which all the Revolutions, which have occured in the world since that period, have taken their rise; they are all links of that grand chain which is extending itself through the earth; and, directly or indirectly claim political kindred with the United States of America.

Future historians down to the latest flow of time will grace their pages with the name of General Washington; and whatever changes may take place in the world, or in his native country; nothing can ever tarnish, or destroy his glory.

America may boast of many of her sons, and say, These have done their deeds valiantly ; but however resplendantly arrayed with proud Justice she looks to Washington, and says, "But thou excellest them all!" Washington was Scientific, both in the field and the cabinet. Formed exactly for his great work with intellectual and physical powers of a rare construction. He was a sober, thoughtful, honest man.

Washington, although not what might be called a profound scholar, yet always wrote in a pure elegant and classical style, and his good sense and knowledge of mankind, taught him in a great degree to estimate the granduer and excellency of a learned well-bred man. Hence by his last will and Testament, he bequeathed a considerable sum towards a National University ; and in other ways promoted learned institutions.

In his Religious principles, Washington was, (I believe) a moderate Episcopalian....I well remember being one Sunday afternoon, in the month of October, 1795, at Christ Church in Philadelphia ; Bishop White read prayers, and Doctor Magaw preached. General Washington and his lady were there, and none in the congregation seemed more impressed with the sacred service than they. I was particularly struck with the manner in which

himself and his wife walked from the pew to their carriage, at the church door, without stopping to bow or to speak to any one. General Washington (I presume) considered Religion what in reality it is, the soul devoutly adoring its maker, a personal transaction between a man's conscience and his God.

This pious sentiment was spread over the whole of Washington's conduct; and it enabled him to maintain a noble consistency of character.

Stubborn integrity and just honor sustained him and was his main sheet anchor in every gust of political difficulty, and when assaulted by covert or open adversaries, *(for even Washington had his foes)* he stood like the rock which sometimes covered with waves and tempestuous storms seems to yield and depart from its place, but by and by the foaming surges recede and the rock remains firm and immoveable. *Such was Washington!* A like invulnerable in very part, almost adored by his own countrymen, and allowed by all the rest of the world the homage due to the first class of earthly greatness.

J. K.

Baltimore, January 1, 1813.

DOCTOR JOHN AIKEN'S

Celebrated lines on the Virtues of WASHINGTON.

To his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President of the United States of America.

Point of that Pyramid, whose solid base
Rests firmly founded on a Nation's trust,
Which, while the gorgeous palace sinks in dust,
Shall stand sublime, and fill its ample space:

Elected chief of Freemen!—Greater far
Than kings, whose glittering parts are fix'd by birth;
Nam'd by thy country's voice for long try'd worth,
Her crown in peace, as once her shield in war!

Deign, *Washington*, to hear a *British* lyre,
That ardent greets thee with applausive lays,
And to the *Patriot Hero* homage pays.
O, would the Muse immortal strains inspire,
That high beyond all Greek and Roman fame,
Might soar to times unborn, thy purer, noble Name!

At an entertainment given at Amsterdam a few years since, the portrait of our beloved *Washington* was exhibited as the chief decoration of the room.—When his health was drank, a Batavian rising up, in his native language made the following apostrophe; which an American gentleman present, requested might be translated—That gentleman has handed us a copy, which we here present.—"See here a true likeness of a great and gallant Hero: Approach with due respect, oh! human friend, and read in this republican, a Cato in council; a Cæsar in the field; a second Solon, in his country's cause; a Hercules in the political tempest; a compliant Farmer, when olive branches blossom; the scourge and admiration of proud Albion—A hero who fought tremendous; but who knew by his care, to prevent the spilling of human blood—Columbia's bulwark, an unclouded Sun: a Mars, who by his knowledge and courage, liberated a fourth part of the globe—the best friend to Virtue, the *Great Washington!*

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In the history of man, we contemplate with particular satisfaction those legislators and heroes whose wisdom and valour have contributed to the happiness of the human species. We trace the luminous progress of those excellent beings with secret complacency; our emulation is roused, while we behold them steadily pursue the path of rectitude in defiance of every obstruction; we rejoice that we are of the same species, and thus self-love becomes the hand-maid of virtue.

Among those patriots who have a claim to our veneration, George Washington appears in a conspicuous place in the first rank. His grandfather, together with several relatives, in the year 1657, emigrated from England to America, and settled in the colony of Virginia; where, by unremitting industry, they became opulent and respectable, and gave their name to the parish of Washington, in Westmoreland county. George Washington, the hero of the following history, was the fruit of a second marriage, and was born in the settlement of Chotank, in the above-mentioned county, on the 22d of February, 1732. He received a private education; was initiated in the elements of religion, morality, and science, by a private tutor; and, from the tenor of his actions, it is manifest, that uncommon pains were taken to cherish

the best propensities of human nature in his heart. In the tenth year of his age he had the misfortune to lose an excellent father, who died in 1742, and the patrimonial estate devolved to an elder brother. This young gentleman had been an officer in the colonial troops sent in the expedition against Carthagena. On his return he called the family mansion Mount Vernon, in honour of the British admiral of that name, and destined his brother George to serve in the navy.

Accordingly, in his fifteenth year, our hero was entered as a midshipman on board a British frigate, stationed on the coast of Virginia; he prepared to embark with all the alacrity of youth, but his nautical career was stopped by the interposition of maternal love. Ever obedient to an affectionate mother, young Washington relinquished his desire of going to sea: the energies of his mind were to be exerted on a more stable element.

He remained at home during four subsequent years, employed in useful and elegant studies, with a pleasing alternation of business; and in the delightful fields and groves of Mount Vernon he gradually obtained a knowledge of agriculture. Rural avocations appear to have been congenial with his disposition, even at this early period of his life; yet he afterwards convinced the world, that martial ardour often animates the breast of the husbandman.

In the year 1751, he was appointed adjutant-general of the Virginia militia; and in consequence of the death of his brother, the family mansion of Mount Vernon, together with a large estate, came into his possession. At this time the extensive boundaries, and increasing population of the colony, made it expedient to form the militia corps into three divisions, and Washington, in his twentieth year, was appointed major. He attended to his duty as an officer with exemplary propriety and vigilance; was indefatigable in the discipline of the troops; and generally beloved, both by the officers and privates, for his mildness and generosity.

In the year 1753, the encroachments of the French upon the western boundaries of the British colonies, excited a general alarm in Virginia, insomuch that governor Dinwiddie deputed Washington to ascertain the truth of those rumours: he was also empowered to enter into a treaty with the Indians, and remonstrate with the French on the injustice of their proceedings. On his return, his report to the governor was published, and evinced that

he performed this honourable mission with superlative prudence.

The repeated inroads of the French and Indians on the frontiers of Virginia made it necessary to increase the military establishment; and early in the spring of 1754, a new regiment was raised, of which professor Fry, of the college, was appointed colonel, and Washington, lieutenant-colonel. Mr. Fry died soon after the regiment was embodied, and was succeeded by our hero, who paid unremitting attention to the discipline of this new corps. He established magazines of provisions and ammunition, and opened the roads to the frontiers in order to pre-occupy an important post at the confluence of the Monongahela and Allegany rivers. His regiment was to have been reinforced by a detachment of regulars from the southern colonies, and a corps of provincials from North Carolina and Maryland; but, impelled by the urgency of the occasion, he proceeded without the expected succours in the month of May. When he ascended the Laurel Hills, fifty miles distant from the place of destination, his scouts brought him intelligence, that the enemy were in possession of the posts, and soon afterwards his troops were attacked by a detachment of the French, and after a severe conflict defeated, and compelled to lay down their arms.

The conduct of Washington on this occasion was perhaps censurable; he ought to have waited for the necessary reinforcements, a junction with whom would probably have crowned his enterprise with success. His inexperience, and the active ardour of a youthful mind, may afford some palliation of his imprudence; but his rashness in this instance was so different from his subsequent prudence, that probably this inauspicious commencement of his military career was the origin of the circumspection and vigilance which afterwards marked his conduct in a successful defensive war.

In the summer of 1754, the French having built several forts within the boundaries of the British settlements, an army of veterans was sent from France to support those unjustifiable encroachments. In the following year, general Braddock was sent to America, at the head of two veteran regiments from Ireland, to reduce the forts on the Ohio. On his arrival, he was joined by the independent and provincial corps of America; but when the army was ready to march, the want of waggons for the conveyance of stores had almost proved an insurmountable obstacle to the expedition. In this em-

ergency, a patriotic American stepped foward, and removed the difficulty; this was the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, whose extraordinary talents had already contributed to the diffusion of knowledge and happiness. This benign philosopher exerted his influence so effectually with his countrymen, that in a short time he collected one hundred and fifty waggons, which proved an ample supply for the army.

As, in consequence of a military regulation, "no officer who did not derive his commission from the king, could command one who did," Washington resigned; but, emulous to defend his country with distinguished zeal, he voluntarily served under general Braddock, as an extra aid-de-camp. That general marched against Fort Du Quesne; but soon after he crossed the river Monongahela, the van division of his army was attacked by an ambuscade of French and Indians, and totally defeated. The thickness of the woods prevented both the European and provincial troops from being able to defend themselves with effect; they could neither keep their ranks nor charge the enemy with the bayonet, while the Indians, who were expert at bush-fighting, and were widely scattered, fired on them from behind the trees, where they were concealed, and took a fatal aim. Washington had cautioned general Braddock in vain; his ardent desire of conquest made him deaf to the voice of prudence; he saw his error when too late, and bravely perished in his endeavours to save the division from destruction. The gallant but unfortunate general had four horses shot under him, before he fell, and almost every officer whose duty obliged him to be on horseback, was either killed or wounded, except Washington. Amid this carnage, the presence of mind and abilities of our hero were conspicuous; he rallied the troops, and, at the head of a corps of grenadiers, covered the retreat of the division, and secured their passage over the ford of Monongahela. Anxious for the preservation of the army, and unmindful of the fatigues he had undergone, during a sultry day in July, in which he had scarcely a moment of rest, he hastened to concert measures with colonel Dunbar, who commanded the rear division, which had not been engaged. Neither the wilderness, through which he was obliged to pass, the innumerable dangers that surrounded him in his progress, nor his exhausted state, could prevent him from pursuing the line of his duty, He travelled during the night, accompanied by two guides, and reached the

British camp in safety. Thus his perseverance and wisdom saved the residue of the troops. Colonel Dunbar now assumed the chief command, and with considerable difficulty effected a retreat, but was obliged to destroy his baggage, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. Washington received the most flattering marks of public approbation; but his best reward was the consciousness of his own integrity.

Soon after this transaction, the regulation of rank, which had justly been considered as a grievance by the colonial officers, was changed, in consequence of a spirited remonstrance of Washington; and the Governor of Virginia rewarded the services of this brave officer, by appointing him to the command of all the troops of the colony. The natural energy of his mind was now called into action; and his thoughts were continually employed in forming new plans for the protection of the frontiers.

In the year 1758, Washington commanded the van brigade of the army under general Forbes, and distinguished himself by the capture of Fort Du Quesne. During this successful campaign, he acquired a *perfect* knowledge of military tactics. His frequent skirmishes with the French and Indians, in the woody regions along the frontiers, taught him vigilance and circumspection, and roused that spirit of enterprise, which is ever ready to seize the crisis that leads to victory. The troops under his command were gradually inured in that most difficult kind of warfare called bush-fighting, while the activity of the French, and ferocity of the Indians, were overcome by *his superior valour*. After the enemy had been defeated in several battles, and compelled to retreat far beyond the colonial boundaries, general Forbes left a sufficient garrison in the different forts which he had captured along the banks of the Ohio, and returned with the army into winter quarters.

In the course of this decisive campaign, which restored the tranquility and security of the middle colonies, Washington had suffered many hardships which impaired his health. He was afflicted with an inveterate pulmonary complaint, and extremely debilitated, insomuch that, in the spring of 1759, he resigned his commission, and retired to Mount Vernon. The Virginia line expressed their high sense of his merit, by an affectionate address on this occasion; and his answer was marked with that modesty and magnanimity, which were the most prominent traits of his noble mind.

By a due attention to regimen, in the salubrious bowers of Mount Vernon, he gradually recovered from his indisposition. But as during the tedious period of his convalescence, the British arms had been victorious, his country had no further occasion for the exertion of his military talents. In the year 1761, love invaded his retirement. The object of his choice was an amiable young widow, whose maiden name was Dandridge. She was descended from a reputable family, and two of her brothers were officers in the British navy. This lady was the widow of colonel Custis, who had left her sole executrix to his extensive possessions, and guardian to his two children. The union of Washington with this accomplished woman* was productive of their mutual felicity; and as he incessantly pursued agricultural improvements, his taste embellished and enriched the fertile fields around Mount Vernon. Meanwhile he was appointed a magistrate, a member of the assembly of the state, and a judge of the court. These honourable avocations kept the powers of his mind in a state of activity; he attended to his civil duties with exemplary propriety; and gave a convincing proof, that the simplicity of the farmer is homogeneal with the more dignified views of the senator.

But the moment approached, in which Washington was to relinquish those honourable civil avocations, and one of the most remarkable events recorded in history obliged him to act a conspicuous part on the great theatre of the world. The American revolution originated in the errors of a few British politicians, and the joint exertions of a number of public-spirited men among the colonists who incited their countrymen to resist parliamentary taxations. A more remote and obscure cause, however, contributed to rear the edifice of this new republic. In order to trace this secret spring of action to its source, it will be necessary to take a cursory retrospective view of the colonisation, improvement, and state of North America, previous to the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain.

The mother country, in planting her colonies in North America, had endowed them with every privilege enjoyed by her subjects at home. She left them at full liberty to govern themselves by whatever laws the wisdom of their own provincial assemblies might

* *Mrs. Washington was born in the year* 1732——*She died in* 1802.

think expedient, and empowered them to pursue their respective interests, but claimed the exclusive benefit of their trade, and their allegiance to the same sovereign.

The Americans, on the other hand, cherished the most tender veneration for the mother country; the name of an Englishman gave them an idea of every thing that was great and estimable in human nature, and they considered the rest of mankind as barbarians, compared with the people from whom they were descended. The colonists had often experienced the protection of Britons, and witnessed their valour with admiration; as the contest with France had been begun on their account, they considered themselves bound to assist their protectors with zeal and fidelity.

By a succession of the most brilliant victories by sea and land, Great Britain effectually subdued the united powers of France and Spain, and acquired possession of a vast extent of territory in both the Indies. The peace of Paris in 1763, terminated a war which exalted Great Britain to the zenith of military glory; by this treaty she remained sole mistress of North America, and her colonies were relieved from the fears of their ambitious French neighbours.

Such was the state of the British colonies at the conclusion of a war, in which they had been more than conquerors. Indeed, the cession of Canada had placed them in a state of perfect security from the French: and the Indians were too contemptible an enemy to excite much apprehension.

The colonies had for ages been accustomed to look to the mother country for aid against the French, from a consciousness of their inability to contend alone against that powerful nation. Protection on the one side naturally implies obedience on the other; and her colonies continued to view Great Britain with an eye of filial reverence, while the menaces of an ambitious neighbour kept them in awe. But when the cession of the French territory in America to the British crown removed a formidable and ambitious rival from the western hemisphere, the colonists began to view their situation in another light, and to cherish ideas of their future greatness.

The national debt of Great Britain had been much increased by the late war, a multitude of new taxes were levied at home, and as the quarrel originated on account of the colonies, and they derived the principal

advantages from the peace, it was thought equitable that they should contribute to the common exigencies.

In March, 1764, a bill was passed in the British parliament, laying heavy duties on all articles imported into the colonies from the French and other islands of the West Indies, and ordering these duties to be paid in specie into the exchequer of Great Britain. In the same session another bill was passed, to restrain the currency of paper money in the colonies.

These acts of the English legislature excited the surprise and displeasure of the North Americans. They sent warm and energetic remonstrances to the mother country, and laid every argument before the ministry that ingenuity could suggest, but in vain. As they had hitherto furnished their contingent in men and money, by the authority of their representatives in the colonial assemblies, they asserted, that not being represented in the British parliament, it could have no right to tax them. Finding, however, that all their arguments were ineffectual to remove their grievances, they formed associations to prevent the use of British manufactures, till they should obtain redress.

The animosity of the colonists was further increased by the advice which they received in 1765, that an act was passed in the British parliament, to establsih stamp duties in America, similar to those in Great Britain.

The general Assembly of Virginia were the first that openly declared against the right of Britain to lay taxes on America. Of this assembly Washington was a member; he most zealously opposed what he considered an encroachment on the liberties of his countrymen; and the example of this legislative body was followed by those of the other colonies.

In June, 1765, the Assembly of Massachusetts, from a conviction of the expediency of a continental congress, passed a resolution in favour of that measure, and sent circular letters to the several assemblies, requesting their concurrence. Accordingly a deputation from ten of the colonies met at New York; and this was the first Congress held in North America.

In consequence of a petition from this Congress to the king and both houses of Parliament, the stamp-act was repealed; to the universal joy of the colonists, and the general satisfaction of the English, whose manufactures had suffered a considerable depression in consequence of the American associations against their importation.

But the parliament, by repealing this obnoxious act, did not relinquish the idea of their right to tax the colonies, and the bill for laying a duty on tea, paper, painters' colours, and glass, was passed, and sent to America in 1768. This act occasioned new discontents in the colonies, especially at Boston; and though parliament thought proper, in 1770, to take off those duties, except three pence a pound on tea, yet even this trifling impost kept alive the jealousy of the colonists, who denied the supremacy of the British legislature. The troops quartered in Boston were another cause of offence to the inhabitants, and on all occasions they manifested an inclination to quarrel with men whom they considered inimical to their liberties.

In the beginning of March, 1770, a quarrel happened in Boston between a private of the 29th regiment and one of the townsmen; and a few days afterwards a more fatal dispute occured. The soldiers, when on parade, were insulted by a mob, who pelted them with snowballs; at the same time they were dared to fire. Exasperated by such treatment, six of the military fired upon the populace, by which three persons were killed, and five dangerously wounded. The town was immediately in commotion, and nothing but the timely removal of the troops, and the expostulations of moderate men, prevented the people from proceeding to open hostilities. The whole province of Massachusetts rose in arms, and the soldiers were obliged to retire to Castle William for protection.

The disputes between Great Britain and her colonies had now existed above ten years, with intervals of tranquility. The reservation of the duty on tea, the stationing a standing army in Massachusetts, the continuance of a board of commissioners in Boston, and the appointing the governors and judges of the province independent of the people, were the causes of that irritation which pervaded all ranks of the community.

In the year 1773, the American controversy was recommenced, in consequence of tea being sent to the colonies by the East-India company. The Americans took measures to prevent the landing of the tea. One universal spirit of opposition animated the colonists from New Hampshire to Georgia; and the province of Massachusetts distinguished itself by the most violent and decisive proceedings. Three ships from England, freighted with tea, lay in the harbour of Boston; and the townsmen resolved to destroy it rather than suffer it

to be landed. For this purpose, a number of men disguised like Indians, on the 18th of December, 1773, entered the ships, and threw overboard three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, being the whole of their cargoes.

The English ministry now resolved to enforce their authority, and as Boston had been the principal scene of outrage, it was determined to punish that town in an exemplary manner. On the 25th of March, 1774, an act was passed, called the Boston Port Bill, "to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping, of goods, wares, and merchandise, at the town of Boston or within the harbour."

The news of this bill was received by the Bostonians with the most extravagant tokens of resentment, and during the ferment their new governor, general Gage, arrived from England. This gentleman had been appointed on account of his being an officer of reputation, and a man esteemed by the Americans, among whom he had resided many years. The first official act of his government was the removal of the assembly to Salem, a pleasant town seventeen miles distant from Boston.

Virginia again took the lead in a public avowal of its sentiments. The first day of June had been appointed for the Boston Port Act to take place, and on that day the General Assembly of Virginia enjoined a public supplication to Heaven. The style of this injunction was remarkable: the people were directed "to beseech the Deity to give them one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose every invasion of the American rights." The Assembly of Virginia also recommended to the colonies to appoint a Congress of delegates to deliberate on the critical state of their affairs.

Meanwhile the Bostonians were not inactive. They framed an agreement, which they called *a solemn league and covenant*, by which the subscribers engaged, in the most impressive manner, "to discontinue all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, after the expiration of the month of August, till the late obnoxious acts were repealed, and the colony re-possessed of its charter." Resolutions of a similar nature were entered into by the other provinces; and when general Gage attempted to counteract the *covenant* by a proclamation, the Americans rightly retorted, by insisting that the law allowed subjects to associate in order to obtain redress of their grievances.

In the month of September, 1774, the General-Congress of all the colonies met at Philadelphia. That body

consisted of fifty-one delegates, chosen by the representatives of each province.

The first act of the continental Congress was their approbation of the conduct of the Bostonians, and their exhortation to them to persevere in their opposition to government till the restoration of their charter. They avowed their allegiance to his Majesty, and drew up a petition, in which they entreated him to grant them peace, liberty, and safety. After several resolutions, tending to recommend unanimity to the provinces, and after having resolved that another Congress should meet in Philadelphia on the 10th of May following, if their grievances should not be redressed, they recommended to the people the speedy nomination of new delegates, and then separated.

Meanwhile reinforcements of British troops arrived in Boston, which increased the general disaffection to such a degree, that the people were ready to rise at a moment's warning. The colonists now began seriously to prepare for war; embodied and trained their militia; and, to render themselves independent of foreigners for the supply of military stores, erected mills and manufactories for gunpower, both in Philadelphia and Virginia.

These hostile preparations induced general Gage to fortify the neck of land which joins the town of Boston to the continent. But though this measure of security was justifiable on the principle of self-defence, the Americans remonstrated against it with the greatest vehemence. Instead of paying any attention to these invectives, the general seized the provincial ammunition and military stores at Cambridge and Charlestown. This act of hostility excited the popular rage to such a degree, that it was with the utmost difficulty the inhabitants of Massachusetts could be restrained from marching to Boston to attack the British troops.

From these hostile dispositions it was evident, that the ensuing spring would be the commencement of a war of which even the most resolute dreaded the consequences. The utmost diligence, however, was used by the colonies to be provided against any attack of the British army. A list of men able to bear arms was made out in each province, and the assemblies were animated with the most lively hopes on finding that two thirds of the men who had served in the former war were alive, and zealous in the cause.

Washington was among the most active in raising troops. His well-known intrepidity and generosity obtained him a numerous corps of volunteers; he was appointed their commander, and soon perfected their discipline.

The awful moment now approached which was to involve Great Britain and her colonies in all the horrors of a civil war. In February, 1775, the provincial Congress of Massachusetts met at Cambridge. Several military institutions for the protection of the province were established, among the most remarkable of which was that of the *Minute-men*. A number of the most active and expert of the New England militia were selected, who were obliged to hold themselves in readiness to obey the first summons of their officers; and, indeed, subsequent vigilance and intrepidity fully entitled them to the above-mentioned appellation.

A regular correspondence was now settled between Congress and the provincial meetings, by which the motions of all the colonies were directed.

General Gage having been informed that a large quantity of military stores were collected at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, sent a detachment to that place to destroy them. The troops had orders to seize Messrs. Hancock and Adams, two leading men of the provincial Congress, which was then sitting at Concord. On the 19th of April, 1775, the detachment marched from Boston early in the morning. They proceeded with the utmost silence, and secured every person they met to prevent the country from being alarmed; but notwithstanding these precautions, they soon found, by the continual firing of guns and ringing of bells, that they were discovered by the *minute-men*. About five o'clock they arrived at Lexington, fifteen miles distant from Boston. The militia were exercising on a green near the town. Major Pitcairn, who was at the head of the British detachment, called out, "Disperse, you rebels! throw down your arms and disperse." They still continued in a body, on which he commanded the regulars to fire, and they discharged a volley, by which several of the Americans were killed and wounded. The troops then proceeded to Concord, where they destroyed the stores, and engaged in a skirmish with the provincials, in which many were killed on both sides. In the retreat of the British troops from Concord to Lexington, a space of six miles, they were pursued with the utmost fury by the Americans, who fired at them from

behind stone walls, high enough to cover the assailants from the fire of the men, who were marching with the greatest expedition. At Lexington, the British troops were joined by a detachment under lord Percy, with two field pieces. As the cannon were managed with the greatest skill and activity, they repressed the ardour of the Americans, otherwise the detachment would have been entirely cut to pieces, or made prisoners. They effected their retreat to Boston, with the loss of two hundred and fifty killed and wounded; the loss of the provincials was about sixty.

This victory animated the courage of the Americans to the highest degree; insomuch, that in a few days their army amounted to twenty thousand men. This formidable body of troops was joined by a corps from Connecticut, under general Putnam, a veteran officer. The Americans now completely blockaded the town of Boston, which, however, was so strongly fortified by general Gage, that they did not venture to attack it.

Meanwhile Congress met at Philadelphia, on the 10th of May, 1775, and John Hancock was unanimously elected President. This gentleman had eminently signalised himself, and expended the principal part of his fortune in the cause of his country. He had been colonel of the company of cadets in Boston, and when deprived of his commission by general Gage, the corps in disgust disbanded themselves.

Towards the close of May, reinforcements of British troops from England arrived at Boston, under the command of general Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, officers of reputation. The town of Boston stands on a peninsula, divided from Charlestown by a river about the breadth of the Thames at London-bridge. Eastward of Charlestown, there is an eminence called Bunker's-hill, which commands the whole town of Boston. A party of the provincials took possession of this hill in the night of the 16th of June, and worked with such diligence and silence, that before the dawn they had nearly completed a redoubt and strong entrenchment, which extended half a mile. When they were discovered by the British troops, they were plied with an incessant cannonade from the ships and floating batteries, besides the cannon that could reach the place from Boston. The provincials however continued their work, which they completed about noon, when a considerable body of infantry was landed at the foot of Bunker's-hill, under the command of general Howe and general Pigot.

The first was to attack the provincial lines, the second the redoubt. The British troops ascended the hill with the greatest intrepidity, but on their approach to the entrenchments, they were received with a discharge of cannon and musquetry, that poured down a full half-hour upon them like a torrent. The execution it did was terrible, insomuch that some of the oldest officers declared it was the hottest service they had ever seen; general Howe, whose fortitude was remarkable on this trying occasion, stood for a few moments almost alone, the greatest part of his officers and soldiers being either killed or wounded. Meanwhile general Pigot was engaged with the provincials on the left, where he met so warm a reception, that his troops were thrown into disorder, but general Clinton coming up with a reinforcement, they quickly rallied and attacked the works with such fury, that the Americans were driven beyond the neck that leads to Charlestown. The British troops having been annoyed by the enemy from the houses of that town, they set it on fire and consumed it to ashes.

In this engagement the carnage was greater in proportion to the number of troops, than in any other during the war. The loss of the British army amounted, in killed and wounded, to upwards of a thousand, including eighty-nine officers; but the Americans, (according to their own account), lost only five hundred men. This disparity of numbers may be accounted for by the provincials having fought behind entrenchments, which sheltered them from the cannon of the enemy, and where their marksmen could take aim with precision.

The British troops justly claimed this dear-bought victory. On the American side the loss most regretted was general Warren.

After the battle of Bunker's-hill, the provincials erected fortifications on a height opposite Charlestown; their activity and boldnes astonished the British officers, who had considered them as a contemptible enemy. The garrison of Boston were soon reduced to extreme distress, for want of provisions.

During these transactions at Boston, Congress continued to act with all the vigour which its constituents had expected. They resolved on the establishment of an army, and a large paper curreney for its support; and they nominated a general to the supreme command of the provincial forces.

Washington, who was a delegate from Virginia, was by their unanimous vote appointed to the important post of commander-in-chief, and his subsequent conduct shewed him every way worthy of their confidence. They also voted him as ample a salary as was in their power to bestow, but he generously declined all pecuniary emoluments. His reply to the President of Congress, on his nomination to the supreme command of the army, was in the following words:

"*Mr. President*,

"Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust; however, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

"But, lest some unlucky event should happen unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with.

"As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses; those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and this is all I desire."

This speech is a proof of that disinterestedness and modesty, which were the distinguishing characteristics of Washington's mind. In private life he was affable, hospitable, and friendly. These social virtues, together with his tried valour, made him truly estimable in the eyes of his countrymen. His election to the supreme command was accompanied by no competition, every member of Congress, especially those of New England, were convinced of his integrity, and chose him as the man best qualified to raise their expectations and fix their confidence.

The appointment of Washington was attended with other promotions, namely, four major-generals one adjutant-general, and eight brigadier-generals.

On the day following a special commission was presented to Washington, by Congress. At the same time they resolved unanimously, in a full meeting, "that they would maintain and assist him, and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes in the cause of American liberty." In their instructions they authorised him "to order and dispose of the army under his command as might be most advantageous for obtaining the end for which it had been raised, making it his special care, in the discharge of the great trust committed to him, that the liberties of America received no detriment."

Washington's diffidence on the acceptance of his commission was extremely natural. His comprehensive mind anticipated the numerous difficulties which must attend his employment, and he would gladly have preferred the pleasures of a rural life to all the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of a glorious war."

His taking the command of the American army was, therefore, a strong exertion of self-denial to an unambitious man, who enjoyed all the real blessings of life in the bosom of independence. He was blest with the rational pleasures of a philosophic retirement, with his table overspread with plenty, and his pillow smoothed by the hand of conjugal love. Could man desire more? Was not this the summit of human happiness? But when the voice of his country demanded his aid, he took the field in her defence with all the honest zeal of filial attachment.

In the beginning of July, 1775, general Washington set out for the camp at Cambridge, in order to assume the command of the army. On his way thither he was treated with every demonstration of respect; escorted by detachments of gentlemen, who had formed volunteer associations, and honoured with public addresses of congratulation from the provincial Congress of New York and Massachusetts.

In answer to these addresses, Washington, after declaring his high sense of the regard shewn him, added, "Be assured, that every exertion of my worthy colleagues and myself will be extended to the re-establishment of peace and harmony between the mother country and these colonies. As to the fatal, but necessary operations of war, when we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen; and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour, when the re-establishment of American liberty, on the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our pri-

vate stations, in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy country."

On his arrival at the camp, he was received with the most joyful acclamations of the American army. He found the British troops intrenched on Bunker's-hill, and defended by three floating batteries in Mystic river, while the Americans were intrenched on Winter-hill, Prospect-hill, and Roxbury, with a communication by small posts over an extent of ten miles. As the provincial soldiers had repaired to the camp in their ordinary clothing, the hunting shirt was adopted for the sake of uniformity. Washington found that his army consisted of a large body of men, indifferently disciplined, and but badly provided with arms and ammunition. Besides, they had neither engineers, nor sufficient tools for the erection of fortifications. He also found uncommon difficulties in the organization of his army. Enterprising leaders had distinguished themselves at the commencement of hostilities, and their followers, from attachment, were not willing to be commanded by officers who, though appointed by Congress, were strangers to them. To subject the licentiousness of freemen to the control of military discipline was both an arduous and delicate task. However, the genius of Washington triumphed over all difficulties. In his letter to Congress, after he had reviewed the troops, he says, "I find here excellent materials for an army; able-bodied men, of undoubted courage, and zealous in the cause." In the same letter he complains of the want of ammunition, camp equipage, and many other requisites of an army.

Washington, at the head of his troops, published a declaration, previously drawn up by Congress, expressive of their motives for taking up arms. It was written in energetic language, and contained the following remarkable passages:

"Were it possible for men who exercise their reason, to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully resistable, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might, at least, require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity,

and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end.

"The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for power, not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and despairing of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited dominations so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound, by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause."

The declaration then proceeds to describe the manner in which the first colonists left Great Britain, the mutual friendly intercourse that had subsisted for ages between that country and her colonies, and the unconstitutional manner in which Parliament had acted for the last ten years towards the Americans. It then continues:

"We have for ten years incessantly besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament in the most mild and decent language; but administration, sensible that we should regard their measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them.

"We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to tyranny, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

"Our cause is just, our union is perfect, our internal resources are great; and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable.

"We fight not for glory or conquest; we exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies. They boast of their privileges, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

"In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right; for the protection of our property, acquired by the honest industry of our forefathers and our own; against violence actually offered; we have taken up arms: we shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before."

This bold and explicit manifesto was dated at Philadelphia, on the 6th of July, 1775, and subscribed by John Hancock, President of Congress, and Charles Thompson, Secretary.

A general spirit of unanimity pervaded the colonies at this momentous period. Men of all ranks and ages were animated with martial ardour, and even religious prejudices were overcome by patriotic enthusiasm. Several young men of the quaker persuasion, joined the military associations; and the number of men in arms throughout the colonies was very considerable.

Nor was this zeal for the common cause confined to the men: even the fair sex evinced their patriotism. At a meeting of the women of Bristol county in Pennsylvania, a large sum of money was subscribed to raise and equip a regiment. When the men were embodied, a lady was deputed by the rest to present the regiment with a magnificent pair of colours which had been wrought for them and embellished with mottos and devices. She made a very animating speech on the occasion, and concluded with an injunction to the officers and soldiers, "never to desert the colours of the ladies, if they wished that the ladies should enlist under their banners."

In September, general Gage sailed for England; and the command of the British army devolved on general Howe. Meanwhile, the army under Washington continued the blockade of Boston so closely as to prevent all intercourse between that town and the country.

The British troops at Boston endured a tedious blockade with their characteristic fortitude; and suffered many inconveniences from the want of necessaries of every kind.

An intense frost usually begins throughout New England about the latter end of December, when the harbour of Boston, and all the rivers in the environs of that town are generally frozen to a depth of ice sufficient to bear a great weight. Washington proposed to take possession not only of the town, but also to take or destroy all the shipping in the harbour, and, by this decisive enterprise, put a conclusion to all the hopes of Great Britain in this quarter. This winter, however, was unusually mild, and, by preventing the operations of the provincials, both they and the garrison were obliged to remain inactive. As Georgia had joined the confederacy, the Americans now changed their colours from a plain red ground to thirteen stripes, alternately red and white, to denote the number of the United Colonies.

Washington exerted his skill and activity in order to compel the British army either to surrender or evacuate Boston before any succours could arrive from England. On the 2d of March, 1776, he opened a battery on the west side of the town, and bombarded it. This attack was supported by a tremendous cannonade, and on the 5th another battery was opened on the eastern shore. The garrison sustained this dreadful bombardment with the greatest fortitude; it lasted fourteen days, without intermission, when general Howe, finding the place no longer tenable, resolved to embark for Halifax.

The evacuation of Boston was not interrupted by the provincials, lest the British troops should set it on fire.

When the Americans took possession of Boston, they found a multitude of valuable articles which were unavoidably left behind by the British.

As Washington was uncertain of the destination of the fleet and army which had left Boston, and as New York lay exposed to any sudden attack, he detached several of his best regiments, under general Lee, for the defence of that city.

On the 4th of July, 1776, the representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, formally renounced all connection with Great Britain, and declared themselves *INDEPENDENT*. They also published a manifesto, stating a list of grievances, which, notwithstanding their repeated petitions, remained unredressed. For these reasons they determined on a final separation from the mother country; and to hold the people of Great Britain as the rest of mankind, "enemies in war, in peace, friends." This celebrated declaration of Independence concluded as follows:

"We, the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority, of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that the United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

This solemn renunciation of allegiance to Great Britain was followed by the greatest preparations for war throughout the United States.

Washington took every precaution for defensive operations, by erecting forts, and stationing troops at New York and the most vulnerable points. The nature of the country was peculiarly favourable to the defence. New England, especially, presented many natural barriers, of hills and mountains, intersected by rivers, and interspersed with trees, rocks, and precipices; several defiles, skirted by impenetrable woods and majestic rivers, flowing with impetuous currents which seemed to bid defiance to the invader.

The firmness of Congress had inspired the provincials with enthusiasm. That resolute body had declared America independent in the very face of the British fleet and army, while the first was casting anchor in sight of New York, and the reinforcements from England were making the second landing on Staten Island.

An attack upon Long Island being determined on by the British commanders, the fleet covered the descent of the army, which effected a landing, without any opposition, on the 22d of August, 1776. General Putnam, with a large body of troops, lay encamped, and strongly fortified, on a northern peninsula on the opposite shore, with a range of hills between the armies, the principal pass of which was at a village called Flat Bush.

Large detachments of the American army occupied the hills and passes. The right of the British army was

commanded by general Clinton, Lord Percy, and Lord Cornwallis; the centre, composed of Hessians, under general Heister, was posted at Flat Bush; and the left, under general Grant, was stationed near the sea-shore.

Early in the morning of the 27th, the engagement was begun by the Hessians, and a heavy fire of cannon and musquetry was contined on both sides for several hours. One of the passes, which lay at a distance, had been neglected by the Americans, which gave an opportunity to the right division of the British army to pass the hills, and attack them in the rear.

The Americans, when apprised of their danger, retreated towards their camp, but were intercepted, and driven back into the woods. Here they were met by the Hessians, and thus exposed to the fire of two parties. No way of escape now remained but by forcing their way through the ranks of the enemy, and thus regaining their camp. This numbers of them effected, but by far the greater part were either killed or taken prisoners.

Washington had crossed over from New York in the height of the engagement, but he came too late to retrieve the fortune of the day. He had the mortification to see some of his best troops killed or taken, wishout being able to afford them any assistance, but he used his utmost exertions to save those that remained, by a well-conducted retreat.

The victory was complete: the Americans lost upwards of three thousand men, including two thousand killed, and eleven hundred taken prisoners, among whom were three generals. On the side of the British, the loss in killed and wounded was only about three hundred. Among the provincials who fell, a fine regiment from Maryland was particularly regretted. It consisted wholly of young men of the best families in that province. They behaved with the most admirable heroism, were every man killed or wounded, and thus perished in the bloom of youth.

After this defeat, Washington, though naturally intrepid, did not think it expedient to risk another action against a numerous army of veterans, well provided with artillery, and elated with their recent victory. In the night of the 22th of August, favoured by darkness, and in the most profound silence, he conveyed his troops on board the boats, and landed them on the opposite shore.

Soon after this retreat, the city of New York was attacked by the English army, and Washington was com-

pelled to retreat to the pass of King's Bridge. The Americans afterwards retired to a mountainous tract of country, it being the wish of their general to act on the defensive.

As the time for which the American soldiers enlisted was only a twelvemonth, at the expiration of that period numbers of them returned home, in consequence of which general Washington found his army decreased from thirty thousand to about three thousand men.

Congress exerted themselves to retrieve their losses and to recruit their army. They were furnished with a just plea for altering their mode of enlisting men; they ordered a new army to be levied, of which the soldiers should be bound to serve three years, or during the continuance of the war. The most liberal encouragement was given to recruits. Twenty dollars were allowed to every soldier as bounty, besides an allotment of lands, at the end of the war, to all that survived, and to the families of those who should lose their lives in the service of their country.

The British army now occupied a chain of towns and villages through the heart of the Jerseys, and had extended their quarters into several places in the vicinity of Philadelphia. General Washington resolved to make some attempts on those divisions of the enemy that lay nearest that city, and, if possible, relieve it from the danger to which it was exposed.

A corps of Hessians lay at Trenton; another at Bordenton, some miles lower; and a third at Burlington. These towns were on the opposite bank of the Delaware, and the last within twenty miles of Philadelphia.

General Washington, by a masterly enterprise, surrounded the Hessian troops on the 26th of December, 1776, when the whole corps, to the number of one thousand men, laid down their arms.

Immediately after the surprise of the Hessians at Trenton, general Washington recrossed the Delaware, which at this place is about three quarters of a mile over, and re-assumed his former post on the Pennsylvania side. Trenton remained unoccupied, and the enemy were posted at Princeton, twelve miles distant on the road towards New York. The weather was now growing very severe, and as there were very few houses near the shore where General Washington had taken his station, the greatest part of his army remained out in the woods and fields. These, with some other circumstances, induced the recrossing of the Delaware;

and taking possession of Trenton. It was, undoubtedly, a bold adventure, and carried with it the appearance of defiance, especially when we consider the panic-struck condition of the enemy on the loss of the Hessian post. It was indeed a scene of magnificent fortitude But, in order to give a just idea of the affair, it is necessary I should describe the place.

Trenton is situated on a rising ground, about three quarters of a mile distant from the Delaware, on the eastern or Jersey side, and is cut into two divsions by a small ereek or rivulet sufficient to turn a mill, which is on it, after which it empties itself at nearly right angles into the Delaware. The upper division, which is to the north-east, contains about seventy or eighty houses, and the lower about forty or fifty. The ground on each side of this creek, and on which the houses are, is likewise rising, and the two divisions present an agreeable prospect to each other, with the creek between, on which there is a small stone bridge, of one arch.* Scarcely had General Washington taken his post here, and before the several parties of militia out on detachments, or on their way, could be collected, the British leaving behind them a strong garrison at Princeton, marched suddenly, and entered Trenton at the upper, or north-east quarter. A party of the Americans skirmished with the advanced party of the British, to afford time for removing the stores and baggage, and withdrawing over the bridge.

In a little time the British had possession of one half of the town; General Washington of the other, and the *Creek* only separated the two armies! Nothing could be a more critical situation than this, and if ever the fate of America depended on the event of a day, it was now. The Delaware was filling fast with large sheets of driving ice, and was impassable, so that no retreat into Pennsylvania could be effected, neither is it possible in the face of an enemy to pass a river of such extent. The roads were broken and rugged with the frost, and the main road was occupied by the enemy.

About four o'clock a party of the British approached the bridge, with a desire to regain it, but were repulsed. They made no more attempts, though the Creek is passable any where between the bridge and the Delaware. It runs in a rugged natural made ditch over which a person may pass with little difficulty, the

* *Trenton is greatly altered and improved since this period, especially with a new and elegant Bridge.*

stream being rapid and shallow. Evening was now coming on, and the British believing they had all the advantages they could wish for, and that they could use them when they pleased, discontinued all further operations, and held themselves prepared to make the attack next morning.

But the *next morning* produced a scene as elegant as it was unexpected. The British were under arms, and ready to march to action, when one of their light horse from Princeton came furiously down the street with an account that General Washington had that morning attacked and carried the British post at that place, and was proceeding on to seize the magazine at Brunswick—on which the British, who were then on the point of making an assault on the *evacuated* camp of the Americans, wheeled about, and in a fit of consternation marched for Princeton!!

This retreat is one of those extraordinary circumstances that in future ages may probably pass for fable. For it will with difficulty be believed that two armies, on which such important consequences depended, should be crowded into so small a space as Trenton, and that the one on the eve of an engagement, when every ear is supposed to be open, and every watchfulness employed, should move completely from the ground with all its stores, baggage, and artillery, unknown, and even unsuspected by the other. And so entirely were the British deceived, that when they heard the report of the cannon and small arms at Princeton, they supposed it to be thunder, though in the depth of winter!

General Washington, the better to cover and disguise his retreat from Trenton, had ordered a *line of fires* to be lighted up in front of his camp. These not only served to give an appearance of going to rest, and continuing that deception but they effectually concealed from the British whatever was acting behind them, for flame can no more be seen through than a wall, and in this situation it may with some propriety be said they became a pillar of fire to the one army, and a pillar of cloud to the other; after this, by a circuitous march of about eigtheen miles the Americans reached Princeton early in the morning.

The number of prisoners taken were between two or three hundred, with which General Washington immediately set off. The van of the British army from Trenton entered Princeton about an hour after the Americans had left it, who, continuing their march for

the remainder of the day, arrived, in the evening, at a convenient situation wide of the main road to Brunswick, and about sixteen miles distant from Princeton. But so wearied and exhausted were they with the continual and unabated service and fatigue of two days and a night, from action to action, without shelter, and almost without refreshment, that the bare frozen ground with no other covering than the sky became to them, a place of comfortable rest. By these two events, and with but little comparative force to accomplish them, the Americans closed with advantage a campaign which but a few days before threatened the country with destruction.

The writer then significantly remarks respecting the Americans—"This was a period of distresses. A crisis rather of danger than of hope; there is no description can do it justice. Even the actors in it looking back upon the scene, are surprised how they got through; and at a loss to account for those powers of the mind and springs of animation by which they withstood the force of accumulated misfortune!"

He then crossed the Delaware and returned with the prisoners to Philadelphia, after which he repassed the river and took possession of Trenton. Several detachments of the British assembled at Princeton, where they were joined by the army from Brunswick, commanded by lord Cornwallis. This general now marched to Trenton, and attacked the Americans on the 2d of January, 1777, at four o'clock in the afternoon. The vanguard of the Americans was compelled to retreat, but the pursuing enemy was checked by some field-pieces which were posted on the opposite bank of Sanpink Creek.

On their approach to Princeton, the centre of the Americans was charged by a party of the British troops, and compelled to retreat. In this emergency, Washington rode forward; he placed himself between his flying troops and the enemy. The Americans, encouraged by his exhortations and example, rallied and attacked the British in turn; and though Washington was for some moments between two fires, he providentially escaped without a wound. During this contest, the British troops displayed the most invincible valour. One of the three regiments, commanded by Colonel Mawhood, undismayed by the superiority of the Americans in point of numbers, charged them with their bayonets, forced their way through their ranks, and marched forwards to

Maidenhead; the other two regiments retired in excellent order, and retreated to Brunswick.

The British general was so much disconcerted at these unexpected manœuvres of Washington, that he evacuated Trenton, and retired with his whole force to Brunswick.

Thus, in the space of a month, all that part of Jersey that lies between Brunswick and Delaware was overrun by the British troops, and recovered by the Americans. Washington stationed troops in all the important places which he had regained, and the campaign of 1776 closed, with few advantages to the Britsh arms, except the acquisition of New York.

The recruits supplied by the several provinces, in the spring of the year 1777, fell short of the intended number; yet, while the British troops were detained at New York, Washington received numerous reinforcements. He now moved from his winter encampment at Morristown to the high lands round Middle Brook, in the vicinity of Brunswick. In this strong position he threw up works along the front of his lines, but his principal advantage was the difficulty to approach his camp, the ground being so judiciously occupied as to expose the enemy to every kind of danger in an attack. On the one side he covered the Jerseys, and on the other he observed the motions of the British army at Bruswick, of which he commanded a full prospect.

Many stratagems were employed by the British general to draw Washington from this strong situation, but without effect, so that it was found necessary to make an attempt on Philadelphia by sea.

On the 23d of July, the British fleet sailed from Sandy Hook with thirty-six battalions of British and Hessian infantry, a regiment of light dragoons, and a corps of American loyalists, on board. After a tedious navigation, the fleet entered the Chesapeake Bay, and was conducted as far up the river Elk as was practicable. Here the army landed without opposition on the 25th of August. Part of the troops was left to guard the stores, while General Howe proceeded with the main body to the head of the Elk.

When Washington received information that the British fleet had sailed up the Chesapeake, he marched with all possible expedition to the defence of Philadelphia. His army, amounting to fourteen thousand men, passed through that city to meet the British forces, which consisted of fifteen thousand. He encamped on the Brandy

wine Creek, about midway from the Elk to Philadelphia, and sent detachments to harass the British army on their march.

On the approach of the enemy, Washington retired to the side of the Creek next Philadelphia, with a determination to dispute the passage. On the 11th of September, the royal army advanced to the attack at daybreak and after a well-contested battle, which lasted till night, the Americans were defeated with the loss of one thousand killed and wounded, besides four hundred taken prisoners. On the side of the conquerors, the loss did not exceed five hundred. The victory was so complete, that darkness alone prevented the pursuit, and consequent destruction or capture of the whole American army. The greatest valour had been displayed by the officers and soldiers on both sides.

Immediately after the battle, the Americans retired to Chester, whence Washington wrote an account of his defeat to the President of Congress. His letter is dated twelve o'clock at night, and is, perhaps, the most faithful picture ever given of the reflections of a great mind amid disaster and difficulty. His troops, though defeated, were not dispirited, and they considered their misfortune rather as the consequence of superior skill on the side of their enemies, than as proceeding from any defect of valour on theirs.

Congress, which had returned from Baltimore to Philadelphia, were now obliged to retire a second time. They went first to Lancaster, and afterwards to York Town.

General Howe, at the head of the van-guard of his army, entered Philadelphia in triumph on the 26th of September, and the main body of the British army encamped in the vicinity of that city. The American army was posted at Skippach Creek, sixteen miles distant.

When the news that Philadelphia was in the possession of the royal army reached the northern colonies, they sent a reinforcement of four thousand of their best men to Washington. On their arrival he advanced within fourteen miles of the city, and fixed himself in a strong encampment at White Marsh.

While the British army was thus successful in the middle colonies, more important and decisive events happened in the northern provinces. General Burgoyne was sent at the head of a veteran army, to make a vigorous campaign upon the lakes and in the adjoining

provinces. He first took possession of Ticonderoga, then crossed lake George, and encamped on the banks of the Hudson, near Saratoga. Here his progress was checked by the Americans, under General Gates; and, after two severe actions, he was forced to surrender on the 17th October, 1777. This event diffused an universal joy throughout the United States.

On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of alliance between France and America was signed by the contracting parties. Washington appointed a day for the whole army to celebrate this event: and it was observed with the greatest military pomp.

In May, General Howe took his departure for England, and the chief command of the British army devolved on Sir Henry Clinton.

The English commissioners, appointed by the British ministry to attempt a reconciliation with the colonies, arrived at New York in the beginning of June; but before they could receive an answer from Congress, General Clinton evacuated Philadelphia, after the British army had kept possession of it for nine months. This event took place on the 18th of June; and it was considered by the Americans as the harbinger of their independence. They asserted, that the strength of Britain was broken on the American continent; and that the army retreated towards the sea, to be in readiness to embark if the exigencies of Britain required its assistance.

The British army marched out of Philadelphia at three o'clock in the morning, and crossed the Delaware before noon, with all its baggage. Washington had been apprised of this movement, and dispatched expresses into the Jerseys to collect troops. He passed the Delaware with the main body of his army, and was hourly joined by reinforcements of regular troops and militia.

General Clinton retreated across the country towards Sandy Hook, whence a passage to New York might be easily effected. In the mean time, Washington pursued the retreating army. He sent the Marquis de la Fayette* with a detatchment of chosen troops to harass the rear of

* *Perhaps no biographical history of modern times would be more curious than an impartial one of M. de la Fayette. His generous exertions in the cause of America ...the conspicuous figure he made in the beginning of the French Revolution....his cruel imprisonment by the Emperor, and the ingratitude of his countrymen....would, altogether, form a most interesting and instructive narra-*

the enemy; General Lee, who had been lately exchanged, followed with a division to support him; and Washington himself moved with the main body to sustain the whole.

On the 27th of June, the British army encamped in a strong position at Monmouth, near Freehold; and, on the morning of the 28th, the van-division of the Americans, under General Lee, commenced the attack by a severe cannonade; but Sir Henry Clinton had made such judicious arrangement of his troops, that the enemy were unable to make any impression on his rear. The British grenadiers and light infantry engaged the Americans with such vigour, that their first line commanded by General Lee was completely broken; their second line was also defeated: they both rallied, however, and posted themselves with a morass in their front. They were again charged by the British troops, and were with difficulty preserved from a total defeat by the junction of their main body under Washington.

In this action the bravery and discipline of the British troops were conspicuous. They had forced an enemy superior in number from two strong positions, and had endured excessive fatigue both from the intense heat of the day and unremitting toil. The loss of the royal army was about three hundred men, and that of the Americans much more considerable.

The conduct of Washington on this occasion was highly praise-worthy. His timely interposition with the main body had preserved the rest of his army from being entirely cut off; and, by his subsequent movements, he placed it so advantageously, as to secure it from an attack. Confiding in superiorty of numbers he now resolved to act offensively: his troops lay on their arms in the field, and he reposed himself in his cloak under a tree, that he might be ready to renew the action next morning. He was disappointed on finding that the British troops had resumed their march during the night. On their arrival at Sandy Hook, they embarked on board the fleet, and soon afterwards arrived at New York.

General Lee, who commanded the van-division of the American army in the action at Monmouth, was, in consequence of his misconduct, put under arrest, tried

tive, founded on extraordinary facts and circumstances within our memory; and almost within our own observation.

by a court-martial, and sentenced to a temporary suspension from his command.

Count d'Estaign, who had sailed from Toulon with twelve sail of the line and three frigates, with six thousand soldiers on board, arrived on the coast of Virginia in the beginning of July. In August, General Sullivan made an unsuccessful attempt to take possession of Rhode Island.

Washington, after the retreat of the British army, marched to White Plains, near Kingsbridge, where he encamped. He remained in this position till the latter end of autumn, when he retired to Middle Brook in Jersey. Here his army erected huts similar to those they had made at Valley Forge, and went into winter quarters.

In May, 1779, General Clinton sent a division of the British army to take Stoney Point, a strong fort on the western side of the north river. This expedition was successful, as the distance at which Washington lay with his army prevented him from giving any assistance to the garrison. The British general fortified Stoney Point in the strongest manner, and encamped at Philipsburgh, half way between that fortress and New York, to be in readiness to compel Washington to an engagement, if he should leave his station in Jersey.

In order to counteract these operations, Washington advanced towards the British army. He took a strong position at West Point, on the bank of the North River, and formed a design to recover Stoney Point by surprise. He sent General Wayne, one of the most intrepid officers in his army, to conduct this enterprise. Wayne, at the head of a detachment of chosen men, arrived in the evening of the 15th of July within sight of Stoney Point. He formed his men into two columns, with orders to use the bayonet only. The right column was commanded by himself in person, the left by Major Steward, a bold and active man. At midnight the two columns marched to the attack from the opposite sides of the works, which were surrounded with a morass and two rows of abbatis, well provided with artillery. The Americans were opposed by a tremendous fire of musquetry and grape shot, but they pressed forward with the bayonet, and both columns met in the centre of the works, where the garrison, amounting to five hundred men, were obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

When the British general received intelligence of the surprise of Stoney Point, he marched with his army to

retake it, and as Washington did not consider the possession of that fortress of sufficient importance to risk a general action, he demolished as much of the works as time would permit, and carried off the artillery. The British troops retook it three days after it was surprised.

Towards the end of the year 1779, General Clinton sailed from New York with a considerable body of troops to attack Charlestown, South Carolina, where General Lincoln commanded. After a close siege of six weeks, the town was surrendered to the British general, and the whole American garrison made prisoners. In August, 1780, Lord Cornwallis defeated the Americans, under General Gates, at Camden, in South Carolina, and he afterwards marched through the southern States without opposition.

During the summer of 1780, the British troops made frequent incursions from New York into the Jeyseys, and an unsuccessful attempt was made by General Knyphausen with seven thousand men to surprise the advanced posts of Washington's army.

On the 11th of July, 1780, a French fleet of seven ships of the line, and four frigates, besides armed vessels and transports, commanded by the Chevalier de Tarney, arrived at Rhode Island, with an army of five regiments of the best troops of France, and a battalion of artillery under the Count de Rochambeau.

The arrival of the French troops occasioned a remarkable circumstance in Washington's camp. Hitherto the Americans had worn blue cockades; but their general now ordered them to wear blue and white intermixed, to denote the alliance of the French and American nations.

Admiral Arbuthnot now proceeded with the British fleet from New York to Rhode Island, and so completely blocked up the French fleet and army as to prevent their co-operation with the Americans. In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton returned with his victorious army from Charlestown, and General Arnold, who had been entrusted with the command of a very considerable division of the American army at West Point, agreed, like a base traitor, as he was, to deliver up that important post to the British general. As Washington had set out for Hartford to hold a conference with Count de Rochambeau, the negociation between Sir Henry Clinton and Arnold was carried on with greater facility during his absence. The agent employed by the British general was Major Andre, a young officer of

uncommon merit. To favour the necessary communications, the Vulture sloop of war had been previously stationed in the North River, and a boat was sent at night from the shore to fetch Andre. When he had received such instructions as related to his business, he set out on his return, but was intercepted, and all his papers seized. Arnold escaped on board the Vulture, but Major John Andre was brought before a board of general officers, by whom he was considered as a spy, and sentenced to death. And on the morning of the 2d of October, 1780, in the 29th year of his age, Andre, the unhappy victim of the errors of others, was led to the place of execution. As he passed along, the American army was astonished at the dignity of his deportment, and the manly firmness and complaisency of his countenance, which spoke the serene composure of his mind;—a glow of sympathy pervaded the breasts of the soldiers; and the tears of sensibility were visible in every eye. He bowed himself with a smile to all he knew in his confinement. When he approached the fatal spot and beheld the preparations, he stoped and paused, as if absorbed in reflection. Then quickly turning to the officer next him, he said, "What! must I die in this manner?" Being told that it was so ordered, he instantly said, "I am reconciled, and submit to my fate, but deplore the mode;" and with a calmness, that, while it excited the admiration, melted the heart of every spectator, performed the last offices to himself.

He then requested that all around him would bear witness to the world, "*That he died like a brave man.*" He perished universally esteemed and lamented; indeed, a general sorrow at his fate pervaded all ranks of people through the continent of America. General Washington, in a letter to a friend soon after the Major's execution, thus expresses himself:

"Andre has met his fate, and with that fortitude which was expected from an accomplished man, and a gallant officer. But I am mistaken if Arnold is not undergoing, at this time, the torments of a mental Hell."

I cannot here omit some notice of the character given of Andre, by Mr. Bushrod Washington. He speaks of him thus, in the life of his relative, the General:

"It would seem that art had been successfully employed in the embellishment of those facinating qualities that nature had lavished on him. Possessed of a fine person and excellent understanding; he had united

the polish of a court, and the refinements given by education, to the heroism of a soldier. When youth, adorned with such rare accomplishments, is consigned prematurely to the grave, all our sensibilities are roused; and, for a moment, human society seems to sustain a deprivation by the melancholy stroke. The general-officers lamented the sentence which the usages of war compelled them to pronounce; and, perhaps on no occasion of his life did the commander in Chief obey with more reluctance the stern mandates of duty and of policy. The sympathy excited among the American officers was as universal as it is unusual on such occasions; and proclaims alike the merit of him who suffered, and the humanity of those who countenanced the punishment."

His sovereign, king George the third, has caused a splendid monument of exquisite workmanship, to be erected to Andre's memory, in Westminster Abbey.

At the close of the year 1780, the American army felt the rigour of the season, with peculiar circumstances of aggravation. The troops had been enlisted for three years, which were now expired, and being incensed at so long a continuance of hardships, an insurrection broke out in the Pennsylvania line, which was followed by that of New Jersey. The complaints of these soldiers being well founded, were redressed, and a general amnesty closed the business. That part of the American army which was under the immediate command of Washington did not escape the contagion of revolt. But as he prudently remained in his quarters, his presence, and the respect and affection they had for his person, kept their murmurs within bounds, and prevented a mutiny.

The campaign of 1781, was opened with great vigour by the British army in Carolina. After several skirmishes with various success, the two armies under Lord Cornwallis and General Green met at Guildford, on the 15th of March, 1781, and after a well-contested action, the British remained masters of the field. Lord Cornwallis afterwards marched into Virginia, where, notwithstanding the advantages he gained over the Americans, his situation became very critical.

He took possession of York Town, in Virginia, and was followed by the Marquis de la Fayette, who had been dispatched by Washington with two thousand light infantry, to watch the motions of the British army.

On the 30th of August, Count de Grasse anchored in Chesapeake Bay, with twenty-four ships of the line. He landed troops to co-operate with Washington, who had moved with the main body of his army to the southward, and when he heard of the arrival of the French fleet in the Chesapeake, he proceeded by forced marches to the head of the Elk, which he crossed, and proceeded to York Town.

Washington now invested York Town, with an army of sixteen thousand Americans, and nine thousand French. He had selected his best troops for this important occasion, and the French were chosen out of the bravest corps of France.

The French and American batteries, mounted with one hundred pieces of cannon, were opened against York Town on the night of the 6th of October, and an incessant fire was kept up till the 14th, when two detachments of the besiegers attacked and stormed two redoubts in front of the British works. The besieged were now so reduced by sickness, and the accidents of war, that they amounted to only three thousand six hundred effective men. Meanwhile, Sir Henry Clinton selected seven thousand of his best troops, with which he embarked at New York, on board the British fleet, with a determination to succour the army under Lord Cornwallis; but the garrison at York Town having persevered to the utmost extremity, and no prospect of relief appearing, a negociation was opened with Washington, and the troops and seamen were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Thus terminated the decisive campaign of 1780, which realised American Independence.

Soon after the capture of Lord Cornwallis, the British armament appeared off the Chesapeake, in the latter end of October, but, to their mortification, they were apprised that the army under Lord Cornwallis had surrendered.

Washington felt all the honest exultation of a patriot at this auspicious event. The orders published in his camp on the 20th of October were strongly expressive of his satisfaction. He congratulated the officers and soldiers of the combined armies on their success, and issued a general pardon to all persons in the continental army who were under arrest, "that every heart might participate the general joy." Nor did he omit what he knew would be particularly acceptable to the religious turn of many of his countrymen: his orders concluded

with a particular injunction, "that a thanksgiving service should be performed," at which it was solemnly recommended to the troops to assist with that seriousness and sensibility of heart, which the surprising interposition Providence in their favour so justly claimed.

General Washington was solicitous that the prisoners of war should be well treated. By his orders they were distributed in the three provinces of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania; and their allowance of provisions was the same as that of the American army.

Congress voted an address of thanks to Washington, Count de Rochambeau, Count de Grasse, and all the officers and soldiers of the combined armies, for the services they had performed.

Washington now returned with the principal part of his army to the vicinity of New York, and went into winter quarters. The only appearances of an existing war were some skirmishes and predatory excursions.

On the 5th of May, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York, being appointed to command the British army in America. Immediately on his arrival, he acquainted Washington and Congress, that negociations for a peace had been commenced at Paris. Meanwhile the British troops evacuated all their posts in South Carolina and Georgia, and retired to the main army at New York.

Preliminary articles were signed at Paris, on the 30th of November, 1782, by Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald, on the part of Great Britain, and by Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Lawrens, on the part of the United States. By this treaty his Majesty acknowledged the Thirteen United colonies to be "free, sovereign, and Independent states."

In this contest it appears, from the most authentic estimates, that the Americans lost 80,000 men, and Great Britain upwards of 40,000. Such was the termination of a war, which exalted the United States of America to an Independent rank among the nations of the earth.

As military operations were now entirely suspended, it was no longer necessary to keep the American army embodied. The states, however, were unable to pay them the arrears due for their inestimable services, and those men who had spent the prime of their days in defence of their country, were now to be dismissed without a reward.

An attempt was made by anonymous papers to incite the officers and soldiers to revolt. Washington, who was then in the camp, saw the danger, and exerted his influence to prevent it. At a meeting of the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, the commander in chief addressed them in a pathetic speech, in which he conjured them, "as they valued their honour, as they respected the rights of humanity, and as they regarded the military and national character of America, to express their utmost detestation of the man who was attempting to open the floodgates of civil discord, and deluge their rising empire with blood." Washington then retired. The officers, softened by the eloquence of their beloved commander, entered into a resolution, by which they declared, "that no circumstance of distress or danger should induce a conduct that might tend to sully the reputation and glory they had acquired; that the army continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their country; and that they viewed with abhorrence, and rejected with disdain, the infamous propositions in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army."

The fortitude and patriotism of Washington were in no instance of more essential service to America, than on this momentous occasion. Instead of making the discontent of the army instrumental to his own ambition, and usurping the government, this magnanimous patriot soothed the passions of his soldiers, and preserved inviolate the liberties of his country.

Towards the close of the year 1783, Congress issued a proclamation, in which the armies of the United States were applauded for their "long, eminent, and faithful services." Congress then declared it to be their pleasure, "that such part of their federal armies as stood engaged to serve during the war, should, from and after the 3d day of November next, be absolutely discharged from the said services."

Washington's "Farewel orders to the armies of the United States," dated Rocky-Hill, near Princeton, November 2, 1783, are a pathetic exhortation, in which the disinterestedness of the Patriot is blended with the wisdom of the Philosopher. It contains the following interesting and impressive passages:

"It only remains for the commander in chief to address himself once more, and for the last time, to the armies of the United States, and to bid them an affectionate, a long farewel.

"It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the consideration of our Independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description; and shall not the brave men, who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employments; and the extensive and fertile regions of the West will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence.

"The commander in chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldiers to change the military character into that of a citizen, but that steady and decent tenor of behaviour, which has generally distinguished, not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, through the course of the war; from their good sense and prudence he anticipates the happiest consequences; and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligation he feels himself under, for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. To the various branches of the army the general takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship. He wishes more than bare professions were in his power; that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life. And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those who, under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed for ever."

To this address, the army that remained at West Point, on the banks of the Hudson, sent a most respectful and affectionate answer. After returning thanks to their general, for his exertions in their favour, they express their feelings in the following bold and figurative language:

"Regardless of present sufferings, we looked forward to the end of our toils and dangers, to brighter scenes in prospect. There we beheld the genius of our country, dignified by our sovereignty and independence, supported by justice, and adorned with every liberal virtue. There we saw patient husbandry fearless extend her cultured fields, and animated commerce spread her sails to every wind. There we beheld fair science lift her head, with all the arts attending in her train. There, blest with freedom, we saw the human mind expand; and throwing aside the restraints which confined it to the narrow bounds of country, it embraced the world. Those animating prospects are now changed, and changing to realities; and actively to have contributed to their productions is our pride, our glory."

New York was evacuated by the British troops about three weeks after the American army was disbanded; and Washington, having finished the great work of the revolution, and founded a republic, wished to retire from the eye of observation to the peaceful rural shades of his patrimonial inheritance. Accordingly, he took leave of his officers in the most solemn manner. Having been previously assembled for that purpose, Washington joined them, and, calling for a glass of wine, he addressed them in the following words: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you; I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." The officers were deeply affected; they came up to him successively, and he took an affectsonate leave of each. He then left the room, and passed between the ranks of a corps of light infantry that lined his way to the side of the North River. The officers followed him in a solemn silent train; their eyes were suffused with tears. They felt a strong emotion of regret at parting with a hero who had participated their dangers, and so often led them to glory. When Washington entered the barge, he turned towards his fellow-soldiers with a countenance expressive of his feelings, and waved his hat as a last adieu.

He proceeded to Annapolis to resign his commission to Congress: his progress was marked by public rejoicings;

triumphal arches were erected at the entrance of every town and village through which he passed. A train of beautiful young virgins, robed in white, met him with songs of gratulation; they strewed laurels and flowers before the benign hero, who moved slowly along, on a white charger. The name of Washington excited an universal emotion. Women and children thronged the doors and windows, eager to behold the deliverer of their country; bands of music filled the air with sprightly melody, while the men who had fought under the banners of liberty, hailed their general with acclamations. Washington received this tribute of public gratitude with his characteristic benignity, while his bosom participated the general happiness.

On his arrival at Annapolis, he informed Congress of his intended resignation; they resolved it should be in a public audience, and on the day appointed numbers of distinguished persons attended, to behold the interesting scene. General Washington addressed the President in the following words:

"*Mr. President*,

"THE great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our Independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign, with satisfaction, the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings, not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the persons who had been attach-

ed to my person during the war: it was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate; permit me, Sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

"I consider it as my indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God; and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewel to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

To this the President returned the following answer:

"The United States, in Congress assembled, receive with emotions, too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war.

"Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you had accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you.

"You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world, having taught a lesson useful to those who reflect, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessing of your fellow-citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages."

Washington now hastened to Mount Vernon, where he was welcomed by his affectionate consort, neighbours, and domestics, with every demonstration of joy; and divesting himself of the military robe, he once more assumed the plain garb of the farmer.

Agriculture was his favourite pursuit. His estate at Mount Vernon particularly engaged his attention, and

was productive of large quantities of wheat, Indian corn, potatoes, and flax, besides flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. Under his eye his domestics manufactured linen and woollen-cloth sufficient for his household, which consisted of nearly one thousand persons. He was visited by all foreigners who travelled in North America, and his hospitality and politeness ensured their esteem. He kept a pack of hounds and generally hunted once a-week, accompanied by a party of gentlemen from Alexandria.

His life was regulated by temperance; he rose early, and after spending the day in a variety of rural pursuits, retired to rest about nine o'clock. This was his invariable rule, except when visitors required his polite attention. His table was spread with the most wholesome viands and pure wines, but he commonly dined on a single dish, which, with a few glasses of wine, formed his repast. He liberally patronised an academy at Alexandria, and encourged the interior navigation of the Potomac; he was the benefactor of the poor, and in short, like the sun to vegetation, his cheering influence and example promoted the happiness of society where he resided.

It is extremely remarkable, that though there never was a civil contest disgraced by so few violent or even ambiguous acts as the American war, yet so pure were the moral sentiments of Washington, that he could not look back on the period of hostilities with unmixed pleasure. An Italian nobleman, who visited him after the peace, had often attempted, in vain, to turn the conversation to the events of the war. At length he thought he had found a favourable opportunity of effecting his purpose; they were riding together over the scene of an action where Washington's conduct had been the subject of no small animadversion. Count ——— said to him, "Your conduct, Sir, in this action has been criticized." Washington made no answer, but clapped spurs to his horse; after they had passed the field, he turned to the Italian and said, "Count ———, I observe that you wish me to speak of the war. It is a conversation which I always avoid. I rejoice at the establishment of the liberties of America. But the time of the struggle was a horrible period, in which the best men were compelled to do many things repugnant to their nature."

So fatal are even the mildest civil commotions to men's morals, and so admirable was the temperament of the

man who had too much magnanimity not to take up arms at the call of his country, and yet too delicate a purity to dwell with complacency on the recollection of scenes which, though they were the source of his glory, allowed more scope for the display of his talents than for the exercise of his humanity!

Here it may not be improper to give a description of the spot that was consecrated by the presence of a patriotic hero. Mount Vernon is situated on the Virginia bank of the Potomac, where it is nearly two miles wide. This sloping mount rises 200 feet above the surface of the river; the summit is about ten acres in extent, in the centre of which the mansion appears in majestic simplicity. The front next the river is embellished by a portico ninety-six feet long, and twenty feet high, supported by eight Doric columns. The wings are adorned with groves of various flowering shrubs and forest-trees, skirted by two large gardens, and the whole is terminated by the stables at one extremity, and a green-house, a school-house, and servants'-hall for the negro mechanics, at the other. The prospect from the front is inexpressibly beautiful. A small woody park, that stretches along the bank of the Potomac, presents to the eye herds of the English deer and American wild deer, bounding among the thickets, or feeding on the herbage; these objects, together with the vessels that glide along the river, enliven the picturesque scene. Beyond a small creek, towards the north, an extensive plain exhibits corn-fields and pastures, with numerous flocks and herds; while the broad expanse of water, and the distant woodlands, cultured hills, and valleys, on the Maryland shore, present a rich variety of rural scenery, which form an admirable landscape.

In these peaceful scenes, Washington enjoyed the rational delights of rural life from the year 1783 till the summer of 1787, when he was chosen President of the Convention which met at Philadelphia and framed the present constitution of the United States.

The new constitution being thus adopted, Washington was chosen President in April, 1789, by the unanimous vote of his countrymen. When he received intelligence of his election, he set out from Mount Vernon for New York. He was escorted by the militia and gentlemen of the first character from state to state, and numerous addresses of congratulation were presented to him by the inhabitants of the towns through which he passed. On his approach to Philadelphia, he was met by above

twenty thousand citizens, who conducted him to the city, where an elegant entertainment was prepard for him.

His progress from Philadelphia to New York is thus described by an elegant writer, and presents an animated picture of public gratitude. "When Mr. Washington crossed the Delaware, and landed on the Jersey shore, he was saluted with three cheers by the inhabitants of the vicinity. When he came to the brow of the hill, on his way to Trenton, a triumphal arch was erected on the bridge, by the direction of the ladies of the place. The crown of the arch was highly ornamented with imperial laurels and flowers, and on it was displayed in large figures, *December 26th*, 1776. On the sweep of the arch, beneath, was this inscription: *The Defender of the Mothers will also protect their Daughters.* On the north side were ranged a number of young girls, dressed in white, with garlands of flowers on their heads, and baskets of flowers on their arms; in the second row stood the young ladies, and behind them the married ladies, of the town. The instant he passed the arch, the young girls began to sing the following ode:

"Welcome, mighty chief, once more.
"Welcome to this grateful shore;
"Now no mercenary foe
"Aims again the fatal blow,
"Aims at thee the fatal blow.

"Virgins fair, and matrons grave,
"These thy conqu'ring arm did save,
"Build for thee triumphant bowers;
"Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,
"Strew your Hero's way with flowers.

"As they sung the last lines, they strewed their flowers on the road before their deliverer. His situation on this occasion, contrasted with what he had, in December, 1776, felt on the same spot, when the affairs of America were at the lowest ebb of depression, filled him with sensations that cannot be described. He was rowed across the bay from Elizabeth Town to New York, in

an elegant barge, by thirteen pilots. All the vessels in the harbour hoisted their flags. On his landing, universal joy diffused itself through every order of the people, and he was received and congratulated by the Governor of the state, and officers of the corporation. In the evening the houses of the inhabitants were brilliantly illuminated."

On the 30th of April, he was inaugurated President of the United States, and took the oath enjoined by the constitution, in the following words: "I do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, protect and defend the constitution of the United States." An universal and solemn silence prevailed among the spectators during this part of the ceremony. The Chancellor then proclaimed him President of the United States, and was answered by the discharge of cannon and the acclamation of ten thousand citizens. After this ceremony, Washington retired to the Senate chamber, when he made a speech to both Houses, strongly expressive of his piety and patriotism.

There is nothing more striking in the whole character of General Washington, and which distinguishes him more from other extraordinary men, than the circumstances which attended his promotion and retreat from office. Unsought elevation and cheerful retreat are almost peculiar to him. He eagerly courted privacy, and only *submitted* to exercise authority as a public duty. The promotions of many men are the triumph of ambition over virtue. The promotions, even of good men, have generally been eagerly sought by them from motives which were very much mixed. The promotions of Washington alone, seem to have been victories gained by his conscience over his taste. His public virtue did not need the ambiguous aid of ambition to urge its activity. We do not affirm that all ambition is to be condemned; it is perhaps necessary to stimulate the sluggishness of human virtue. Those who avoid the public service from an epicurean love of pleasure and of ease, from the fear of danger, from insensibility to honest fame, are not so much to be praised for their exemption from ambition, as to be despised for baser vices. But though it be mean to be *below* ambition, it is a proof of unspeakble greatness of mind to be *above* it. This elevation the mind of Washington had reached; and unless we are greatly deceived, he will be found to be a solitary example of such exalted

magnanimity. To despise what all other men pursue; to shew himself equal to the highest places without ever seeking any; and to be as active and intrepid from public virtue alone, as others are under the influence of the most restlest ambition; these are the noble peculiarities of the character of Washington.

Soon atfer his appointment to the chief magistracy, he visited the eastern States, with a view to promote agriculture, and explore the means of national improvement. The French revolution, which has excited the attention of mankind, proved a severe test to the prudence of Washington. Though he secretly disapproved of the violent measures of the French Republic, yet he saw that it was necessary for America to preserve a mutual good understanding with that nation. With this conviction, he received M. Genet, whose outrages against the American government excited the detestation of every good mind. The moderation of Washington triumphed over the insidious arts of his enemies; and though his authority was insulted by anonymous libels, though his confidential ministers were seduced to betray their trust, nay, though the populace were instigated to insurrection, his prudent measures restored peace and harmony.

Washington was twice elected President, and during his eight years' administration, he performed the duties of his arduous office with all the zeal of an honest patriot. His principal residence was in Philadelphia, where Mrs. Washington was treated with the distinction which her own amiable virtues, and the dignified station of her husband, claimed.

The President occasionally visited Mount Vernon;*

* "*I was struck with awe and veneration, when I recollected that I was now in the presence of one of the greatest men upon earth. The great Washington, the noble and wise benefactor of the world! as Mirabeau styles him;—the advocate of human nature, the friend of both worlds. Whether we view him as a general in the field, vested with unlimited authority and power, at the head of a victorious army; or in the cabinet, as the President of the United States; or as a private gentleman, cultivating his own farm; he is still the same great man—anxious only to discharge with propriety the duties of his relative situation.*" Wansey's Excursions to the United States of North America.

where in his fragnant bowers he found a pleasing relaxation from the cares of government.

In April, 1796, he had the satisfaction to sign the commercial treaty with Great Britain, an event which was facilitated by his exertions.* After having spent forty-five years of his life in the service of his country, he, in September, 1796, announced his determination to retire, in the following address expressive of his gratitude and affection:

" *Friends and Fellow-citizens,*

THE period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in disignating the person, who is to be cloathed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

" I beg you at the same time to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation will imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction, that the step is compatible with both.

" The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto, in the office to which your suffrages has twice called me, have been an uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an

* *King George the third having a very difficult foreign affair to settle, observed to one of his ministers,* " *how easily he could have brought it to an amicable close if he had had the gentle and generous Washington to deal with.*"

Address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety: and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion.—In the discharge of this trust I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable.—Not unconscious, in the out-set, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the stedfast confidence with which it has supported me: and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every directions were liable to mislead amidst appearance sometimes dubious—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your sup-

port was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing wishes, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflexion, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real Independence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety, of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the convictions of this truth. As this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidously) directed, it is of infinite moment,

that you should properly estimate the immense value o your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together: the Independence and Liberty you possess, are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the *union* of the *whole*.

The north, in an unrestrained intercourse with the south, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprize and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The south in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the north, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the north, it finds its particular navigation invigorated—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The east, in like intercourse with the west, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities

which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The west derives from the east supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensible outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the west can hold this essential, advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parties combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty: In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your Liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorised to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its im-

practicability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by geographical discriminations—northern and southern—atlantic and western: whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other, those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negociation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Missisippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensible. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation

and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendments, has a just claim to your confidence and your support.—Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoyed by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish a government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artifical and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party often a small, but artful and enterprizing minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you speedily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly

overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of Liberty, is indispensible. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controuled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are

sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms: kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchial cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency. it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another.—The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositaries, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasion by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers,

be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefits which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensible supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politican, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorious exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoid-

able wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.—Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruit of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtues? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! it is rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest.—Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives' The peace often, and sometimes, perhaps, the Liberty of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another, produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interests exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions: by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favouraite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or laudable zeal for public good, the base and foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils? Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be im-

partial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation, invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is

always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, in a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporay alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may please itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will be the best referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error; I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that af-

ter forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward and trust, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

United States, Sept. 17, 1796.

Washington once more retired to his favourite seat, with the hope of devoting the remainder of his life to the calm duties of piety and beneficence. From March, 1797, to July, 1798, he enjoyed the rational happiness conferred by virtue. The piratical aggressions of France at this time alarmed the Americans, and that they might be prepared to resist open hostility, Congress thought it expedient to embody their army. Convinced of the integrity and abilities of Washington, whose wisdom and valour had been instrumental to the emancipation of his country, the legislative body appointed him Generalissimo of the American armies; and, obedient, to the voice of patriotism, he accepted the appointment.

But the moment approached in which he was to be removed to a higher state of existence.

On Thursday, the 12th of December, 1799, he rode out to one of his plantations, and the day being rainy he caught cold, which brought on an inflammatory sore-throat. This disease became alarming on Friday, and when his physician arrived on Saturday morning, medical aid was inefficacious.

A few minutes before he expired, he enquired. "Doctor, how long am I to remain in this situation?" Not long, sir," was the mournful reply.

The first information of the death of General Washington, was given to Congress on the 18th of December, in the following manner.

Mr. (now Judge) Marshall, in a voice that bespoke the anguish of his mind, and a countenance expresive

of the deepest regret, rose, and delivered himself as follows:

"*Mr. Speaker*,

"INFORMATION has been just received, that our illustrious fellow-citizen, the commander in chief of the American armies, and the late President of the United States, is no more.

"Though this distressing intelligence is not certain, there is too much reason to believe its truth. After receiving information of this national calamity, so heavy and so afflicting, the House of Representatives can be but ill fitted for public business. I move you, therefore, that they adjourn."

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and the House adjourned till to-morrow morning, 11 o'clock.

December 19.

This event was confirmed officially by a message from the President communicating a letter from Tobias Lear, esq. private secretary to General Washington.

Gentlemen of the Senate,
and of the House of Representatives,

THE letter herewith transmitted will inform you that it hath pleased Divine Providence to remove from this life, our excellent fellow-citizen George Washington, by the purity of his character and a long series of services to his country, rendered illustrious through the world. It remains for an affectionate and grateful people in whose hearts he can never die, to pay suitable honour to his memory.

JOHN ADAMS.

Mount Vernon, December 16, 1799.

SIR,

IT is with inexpressible grief, that I have to announce to you the death of the great and good General Washington. He died last evening between 10 and 11 o'clock, after a short illness of about twenty-four hours. His disorder was an inflammatory sore throat, which proceeded from a cold, of which he made but little complaint on Friday. On Saturday morning about 3 o'clock, he became ill. Doctor Dick attended him in the morning, and Dr. Craick, of Alexandria, and Dr. Brown, of Port Tobacco, were soon after called

in. Every medical assistance was offered, but without the desired effect His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life. Not a groan nor a complaint escaped him, in extreme distress. With perfect resignation and a full possession of his reason, he closed his well spent life.

I have thehonor to be, &c.

TOBIAS LEAR.

Mr. (now Judge) Marshall, with deep sorrow on his countenance, and in a low pathetic tone of voice, rose and addressed the House as follows:

The melancholy event which was yesterday announced with doubt, has been rendered but too certain. Our Washington is no more The hero, the sage, and the patriot of America—the man on whom in times of danger every eye was turned and all hopes were placed, lives now, only in his own great actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and afflicted people.

If, sir it had even not been usual openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom Heaven had selected as its instruments for dispensing good to men, yet such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents which have marked the life of him whose loss we all deplore, that the whole American nation, impelled by the same feelings, would call with one voice for a public manifestation of that sorrow which is so deep and so universal.

More than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide spreading empire, and to give to the western world its independence and its freedom.

Having effected the great object for which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have seen him convert the sword into the ploughshare, and voluntarily sink the soldier into the citizen.

When the debility of our federal system had become manifest, and the bonds which connected the parts of this vast continent were dissolving, we have seen him the chief of those patriots who formed for us a constitution, which, by preserving the union, will, I trust, substantiate and perpetuate those blessings our revolution had promised to bestow.

In obedience to the general voice of his country, calling on him to preside over a great people, we have seen him once more quit the retirement he loved, and

in a season more stormy and tempestuous than even war itself, with calm and wise determination, pursue the true interests of the nation, and contribute more than any other could contribute, to the establishment of that system of policy, which will, I trust, yet preserve our peace, our honour and our independence.

Having been twice unanimously chosen the chief magistrate of a free people, we see him, at a time when his re-election with the universal suffrage could not have been doubted, affording to the world a rare instance of moderation, by withdrawing from his high station to the peaceful walks of private life.

However the public confidence may change, and the public affection may fluctuate with respect to others, yet with respect to him they have, in war and in peace, in public and in private life, been as steady as his own firm mind, and as constant as his own exalted virtues.

Let us then, Mr. Speaker, pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the grand council of the nation display those sentiments which the nation feels.

For this purpose, I hold in my hand some resolutions which I will take the liberty to offer to the House.

"*Resolved*, That this House will wait on the President of the United States, in condolence of this mournful event.

"*Resolved*, That the Speaker's chair be shrouded with black, and that the members and officers of the House wear black during the session.

"*Resolved*, That a committee, in conjunction with one from the Senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.

"*Resolved*, That this House when it adjourn, do adjourn to Monday."

These resolutions were unanimously agreed to.—Sixteen members were appointed on the third resolution.

Generals Marshall and Smith were appointed to wait on the President to know at what time it would be convenient to receive the House.

Generals Marshall and Smith having waited on the President with the first resolution, reported, that the President would be ready to receive them at one o'clock this day The House accordingly waited on him.

The Speaker addresed the President in the following words:

SIR,

THE House of Representatives, penetrated with a sense of the irreparable loss sustained by the nation, in the death of that great and good man, the illustrious and beloved Washington, wait on you, sir, to express their condolence on this melancholy and distressing event.

To which the President made the following answer:

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I receive with great respect and affection the condolence of the House of Representatives on the melancholy and afflicting event in the death of the most illustrious and beloved personage which this country ever produced. I simpathise with you, with the nation, and with good men through the world, in this irreparable loss sustained by us all.

JOHN ADAMS.

A message was received from the Senate, informing the House that they had agreed to the appointment of a joint committee, to consider a suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen, and that they had appointed seven members to join a committee of the House for that purpose.

SENATE.

December, 23.

Agreeably to the first resolution the House waited on the President, whom they addressed in the following words:

The Senate of the United States respectfully take leave, sir, to express to you their deep regret for the loss their country sustains in the death of General George Washington.

This event so distressing to all our fellow-citizens, must be peculiarly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with yours; on this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man at such a crisis is no common calamity to the world: our country mourns her father. The Almighty disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to him, who "maketh darkness his pavilion."

With patriotic pride we review the life of our Wash-

ington, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names diminish before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied, but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtue. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition and darkened the splendour of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory; he has travelled on to the end of his journey and carried with him an increasing weight of honour; he has deposited it safely, where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it. Favored of Heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity; magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example—his spirit is in Heaven.

Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage: let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labors, and his example are their inheritance.

To which the President returned the following answer:

Gentlemen of the Senate.

I receive with the most respectful and affectionate sentiments, in this impressive address, the obliging expressions of your regret for the loss our country has sustained in the death of her most esteemed, beloved, and admired citizen.

In the multitude of my thoughts and recollections, on this melancholy event, you will permit me only to say, that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest and most trying perplexities; I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity; with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation, and constancy.

Among all our original associates, in that memorable league of the continent in 1774, which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the general government. Although with a constitution more enfeebled than his, at an age when he thought it necessary to prepare for

retirement, I feel myself alone, bereaved of my last brother; yet I derive a strong consolation from the unanimous disposition which appears in all ages and classes, to mingle their sorrows with mine, on this common calamity to the world.

The life of our Washington cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries, who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of royalty, could have only served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues, which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds, who, believing that characters and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it. Malice could never blast his honour, and envy made him a singular exception to her universal rule. For himself he had lived enough, to life and glory. For his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal. For me, his departure is at a most unfortunate moment.—Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of Providence over the passions of men, and the results of their councils and actions, as well as over their lives, nothing remains for me, but humble resignation.

His example is now complete, and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read. If a Trajan found a Pliny, a Marcus Aurelius can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians.

JOHN ADAMS.

In the House of Representatives, General Marshall made a report from the joint committee appointed to consider a suitable mode of commemorating the death of General Washington.

He reported the following resolutions:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a marble monument be erected by the United States at the capitol of the city of Washington, and that the family of General Washington, be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it, and that the monument be so designated as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

And be it further resolved, That there be a funeral procession from Congress hall to the German Lutheran church, in memory of General George Washington, on Thursday the 26th inst. and that an oration be prepared at the request of Congress, to be delivered before both Houses that day; and that the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, be desired to request one of the members of Congress to prepare and deliver the same.

And be it further resolved, That it be recommended to the people of the United States, to wear crape on their left arm, as mourning, for thirty days.

And be it further resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to direct a copy of these resolutions to be transmitted to Mrs. Washington, assuring her of the profound respect Congress will ever bear for her person and character, of their condolence on the late affecting dispensation of Providence, and entreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General Washington in the manner expressed in the first resolution.

And be it further resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to issue his proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States, the recommendation contained in the third resolution.

These resolutions passed both Houses unanimously.

A PROCLAMATION

By the President of the United States of America.

WHEREAS the Congress of the United States, "in honour of the memory of General George Washington," have this day resolved, "That it be recommended to the people of the United States, to wear crape on the left arm as mourning, for thirty days;" and, "That the President of the United States be requested to issue a proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States the said recommendation." Now, therefore, I, JOHN ADAMS, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim the same accordingly.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, and

of the independence of the United States the twenty-fourth.

JOHN ADAMS.

By the President,
Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State.

N. B. The contents of this proclamation were fully accomplished by a grateful people.

We have now attended Washington to his death-bed, where he lies surrounded by his weeping friends and domestics. With what calm fortitude does he suffer pain! Even death has no terror for the venerable hero! He has long been familiarised to danger, and considers the dissolution of his frame as one of the necessary operations of nature. Piety to his Creator, and love of his country, were the motives of his actions; and he considered a life of beneficence as the best proof he could give of his veneration for the Father of man. Now, like a traveller who has explored various regions, and who, having experienced the alternations of adversity and prosperity, has arrived at his journey's end, he lays down his head to repose, with the hope of rising to a happy immortality.

Thus his last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life. In full possession of his reason he breathed his last without a groan, on Saturday, the 14th of December, 1799, in the 61st year of his age. He was a man superior to all the titles which arrogance or servility have invented for the decoration of hereditary rank. He was one who seemed to have been expressly formed by Providence for the mighty work of establishing the independence of a people, which may one day delight the philanthropist with the view of as great an assemblage of freemen as Europe now contains of slaves. His firm mind, adapted to all circumstances of fortune, equally inaccessible to the flatteries of hope and the suggestions of despair, was kept steady by the grand principles of pure love to his country, and a religious attachment to moral duty. He was one of those truly great men, who can be cool without phlegm, dispassionate without indifference—who, constantly intent upon an important end, are little moved by the vicissitudes and fluctuations in the means which lead to it. In him, even fame, glory, reputation, were subordinate considerations to the successful performance of the high task assigned him; and he could without impatience wait for that reward of public applause and gratitude,

which was all he desired for services beyond the power of estimate. In his character were renewed all the qualitses we most admire in the noblest names of antiquity. Timoleon, Aristides, Camillus, Fabius, did not surpass him in fortitude, prudence, disinterestedness, and integrity. No one ever more effectually united decisive firmness, with that lenity which flows from true benevolence. No one ever passed through the ordeal of power and influence more free from the remotest suspicion of selfish and ambitious designs. To have passed unsullied through such a career of glory and usefulness, is so high and rare a blessing, that regret for his loss will probably, in those minds which are warmed by a sense of exalted virtue, be sunk in the satisfaction of seeing another illustrious name placed beyond all danger of human infirmity.

On Wednesday, the 18th of December, the remains of Washington were interred in the family vault at Mount Vernon. The funeral was attended by a multitude of persons of both sexes, who came to pay the last sad honours to their benefactor.

The following Account of the Interment is taken from the Boston Centinel:

"On Wednesday last the mortal part of Washington the Great, the father of his country, and the friend of man, was consigned to the tomb, with solemn honours and funeral pomp.

Between three and four o'clock the corpse was moved, a band of music, with mournful melody, melted the soul in all the tenderness of woe.

The procession was formed, and moved in the following order:

Cavalry——Infantry——Guards
(With arms reversed.)
Music.
Clergy.
The General's horse, with his saddle, holsters, and pistols.

Colonel Simms,	The Body.	Colonel Gilpin.
—— Ramsey,		—— Marsteller,
—— Payne,		—— Little,

Mourners,
Masonic Brethren,
Citizens.

When the procession had arrived at the family vault, at the bottom of the elevated lawn of the banks of the Potomac, the cavalry halted, the infantry marched towards the Mount, and formed the lines; the clergy, the masonic brothers, and the citizens, descended to the vault, and the funeral service of the church was performed.

Three general discharges by the infantry, the cavalry, eleven pieces of artillery, which lined the banks of the Potomac, and from a vessel that lay in the river, paid the last tribute to the entombed Commander in Chief of the armies of the United States, and to the venerable departed hero.

The Sun was now setting. Alas! the *Sun of Glory* was set for ever. No—the name of Washington, the American President and General, will triumph over death: the unclounded brightness of his glory will illuminate future ages.

Congress have decreed, that the remains of the American hero should be removed to the capitol in the city of Washington, and interred under a column, insculptured with an account of his principal achievements. The President wrote to Mrs. Washington for her concurrence, and that amiable woman reluctantly consented; for, as she says, "I must consent to the request made by Congress; and in doing this I need not, I cannot, say, what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of public duty."

The will of this great man displays the same moderation and goodness of heart which actuated him throughout his life. May his example excite the emulation of his countrymen, who have been too long restrained by interest from yielding to the generous impulse of humanity, and restoring their slaves to that liberty which is the birth-right of man!

Washington was tall, erect, and well made, but thin. His eyes were light blue, his nose rather long, and his countenance expressive of extreme sensibility. His demeanour was dignified and modest. "There was a mild serenity in his deportment; he was slow and moderate in his resentments; and if he had faults, he must have been sensible of them, and was very successful in concealing them from the world." He was affable, generous, and conscientious. His valuable library, and a correspondence with eminent men, furnished him with a rich fund of knowledge; and the productions of his pen are perspicous and sensible. He was an af-

fectionate husband, a disinterested friend, a benign master, and a benefactor to the indigent. He practised the social virtues because they were enjoined by religion, and from his innate love of rectitude.

The similarity between the public virtues of Washington, and those of Alfred the Great, is admirable. These extraordinary men were both celebrated for their love of justice, their fortitude, their patriotism, and piety. When Alfred exchanged the military garb for that of the peasant, he suffered a greater reverse of fortune than ever befel Washington; and when in disguise he exploded the camp of the Danes, and lulled suspicion by the melody of his harp, he evinced a more enterprising genius than the American. The capture of the Hessians at Trenton, however, reminds us of the achievement of Alfred; who, by surprising the Danish camp, revived the hopes of his countrymen. Washington founded a republic; he was instrumental to the establishment of his polity, and retired "with all his blusing honours thick upon him;" obedient to the will of his country, he resumed the command of her armies, and died as he lived, a true patriot. Alfred, by the subjugation of his country's enemies, secured her liberties and peace; he was "her voice in council, in the field her sword." As a legislator, he immortalised his name by the institution of a trial by jury; as a magistrate, he presided with unparalled wisdom; the sceptre of power was consecrated by his hand; and he was beloved, revered, nay, almost deified, by his countrymen. Washington, like Alfred, was energetic and determined in every emergency. Though their virtues were homogeneal. Alfred claims the palm for ardour and brilliancy of genius: Washington excelled him in discretion; he weighed the consequences of every step, and his prudence triumphed over opposition. In short, Alfred the Great was like the rising sun which, breaking through a dark cloud, illumines and beautifies the creation. His superior mind shone with an effulgence that dissipated the gloom of superstition and ignorance which surrounded him, and, like the Vicegerent of Heaven, he promoted the happiness of the human species. Washington the Great was like the declining sun that adorns the face of nature with the mildest radiance; his actions equally brilliant with those of Alfred, were more imitable than his; and the virtuous American will be esteemed by posterity worthy to stand in the same rank with this illustrious Englishman.

GEN. WASHINGTON'S WILL.

VIRGINIA,
Fairfax, ss.

I, George Deneale, *Clerk of Fairfax County Court, do Certify, That the subsequent Copy of the last Will and Testament of* GEORGE WASHINGTON, *deceased, late President of the United States of America, with the Schedule annexed, is a* true Copy *from the Original recorded in my Office.*

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 23d day of January, 1800.

GEO. DENEALE, C. F. C.

In the name of God, Amen.

I GEORGE WASHINGTON, of *Mount Vernon*, a Citizen of the United States, and lately President of the same, Do make, ordain, and declare this instrument, which is written with my own hand, and every page thereof subscribed with my name,* to be my *Last will* and *Testament*, revoking all others.

Imprimus—All my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and speedily paid; and the legacies herein after bequeathed, are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit, and in the manner directed.

Item—To my dearly beloved wife *Martha Washington*, I give and bequeath the use, profit, and benefit of my whole estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter. My improved lot in the town of Alexandria, situated on Pitt and Cameron streets, I give to her and her heirs for ever; as I also do my household and kitchen furniture of every sort and kind, with the liquors and groceries which may be on hand at the time of my decease, to be used and disposed of as she may think proper.

* *In the original manuscript*, George Washington's *name is written at the bottom of every page.*

Item—Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire, that all the slaves which I hold in *my own right*, shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life, would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties on account of their intermixture by marriages with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences to the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor, it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them. And whereas among those who will receive freedom according to this devise, there may be some who, from old age or bodily infirmities, and others, who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire, that all who come under the first and second description, shall be comfortably cloathed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or, if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the Court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the Court, upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The negroes thus bound, are (by their masters or mistresses) to be taught to read and write, and be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia providing for the support of orphan and other poor children. And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said Commonwealth, of any slave I may die possessed of under any pretence whatsoever. And I do moreover most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my Executors hereafter named, or the survivor of them, to see that *this* clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support, as long as there are subjects requiring it, not trusting to the uncertain provision made by individuals.—And, to my mula o man *William* (calling himself *Wm. Lee,)* I give immediate freedom, or if he should prefer it (on account of the accidents which have befallen him, and which have

rendered him incapable of walking or of any active employment) to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so; in either case, however, I allow him an annuity of 30 dollars during his natural life, which shall be independent of the victuals and cloathes he has been accustomed to receive, if he chuses the last alternate; but in full with his freedom, if he prefers the first; and this I give him as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the Revolutionary War.

Item—To the Trustees (Governors, or by whatsoever other name they may be designated) of the Academy in the town of Alexandria, I give and bequeath, in trust, 4000 dollars, or, in other words, 20 of the shares which I hold in the bank of Alexandria, towards the support of a Free school, established at, and annexed to the said Academy, for the purpose of educating orphan children, or the children of such other poor and indigent persons, as are unable to accomplish it with their own means, and who, in the judgment of the Trustees of the said Seminary, are best entitled to the benefit of this donation. The aforesaid 20 shares I give and bequeath in perpetuity; the dividends only of which are to be drawn for, and applied by the said Trustees, for the time being, for the uses above mentioned; the stock to remain entire and untouched, unless indications of failure of the said bank should be so apparent, or a discontinuance thereof, should render a removal of the fund necessary. In either of these cases, the amount of the stock here devised is to be vested in some other bank, or public institution, whereby the interest may with regularity and certainty be drawn and applied as above. And, to prevent misconception, my meaning is, and is hereby declared to be, that these 20 shares are in lieu of, and not in addition to, the 1000*l.* given by a missive letter some years ago, in consequence whereof, an annuity of 50*l.* has since been paid towards the support of this institution,

Item—Whereas by a law of the Commonwealth of Virginia, enacted in the year 1785, the Legislature thereof was pleased (as an evidence of its approbation of the services I had rendered the public during the Revolution, and partly, I believe, in consideration of my having suggested the vast advantages which the community would derive from the extension of its inland navigation under Legislative patronage) to present me with 100 shares of 100 dollars each, in the incorporated

Company established for the purpose of extending the navigation of *James River* from the tide-water to the mountains; and also with 50 shares of 100*l.* sterling each in the corporation of another Company likewise established for the similar purpose of opening the navigation of the river *Potomac* from the tide-water to Fort Cumberland; the acceptance of which, although the offer was highly honourable and grateful to my feelings was refused as inconsistent with a principle which I had adopted, and had never departed from—namely, not to receive pecuniary compensation for any services I could render my country in its arduous struggle with Great Britain for its rights, and because I had evaded similar propositions from other States in the Union: Adding to this refusal, however, an intimation, that, if it should be the pleasure of the Legislature to permit me to appropriate the said shares to *Public Uses*, I would receive them on those terms with due sensibility; and this it having consented to, in flattering terms, as will appear by a subsequent law and sundry resolutions, in the most ample and honourable manner—I proceed, after this recital, for the more correct understanding of the case, to declare, That as it has always been a source of serious regret with me, to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purposes of Education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own, contracting, too frequently, not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, *but principles unfriendly to Republican Government, and to the true and genuine Liberties of Mankind*, which, thereafter are rarely, overcome—For these reasons, it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised, on a liberal scale, which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising Empire, thereby to do away local attachments and state prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit from our national Councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is (in my estimation) my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure, than the establishment of a *University* in a central part of the United States, to which the youths of fortune and talents from all parts thereof might be sent for the completion of their education in all the branches of polite Literature, in the Arts and Sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of Politics

and good Government, and, as a matter of infinite importance in my judgment, by associating with each other, and forming friendships in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves, in a proper degree, from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned, and which, when carried to excess, are never-failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant of mischievous consequences to this country.—Under these impressions, so fully dilated.

Item—I give and bequeath, in perpetuity, the 50 shares which I hold in the Potomac company (under the aforesaid Acts of the Legislature of Virginia) towards the endowment of a *University*, to be established within the limits of the District of *Columbia*, under the auspices of the General Government, if that Government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it; and until such Seminary is established, and the funds arising on these shares shall be required for its support, my further will and desire is, that the profit accruing therefrom, shall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing stock in the Bank of *Columbia*, or some other bank, at the discretion of my Executors, or by the Treasurer of the United States for the time being, under the direction of Congress, provided that honourable Body should patronize the measure; and the dividends proceeding from the purchase of such stock are to be vested in more stock, and so on, until a sum adequate to the accomplishment of the object is obtained, of which I have not the smallest doubt before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement is given by legislative authority, or from any other source.

Item—The hundred shares which I hold in the James River Company, I have given, and now confirm, in perpetuity, to and for the use and benefit of *Liberty Hall Academy*, in the county of Rockbridge, in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Item—I release, exonerate, and discharge the estate of my deceased brother, *Samuel Washington*, from the payment of the money which is due to me from the land I sold to Philip Pendleton (lying in the county of Berkeley,) who assigned the same to him, the said *Samuel*, who, by agreement, was to pay me therefor: And whereas by some contract (the purport of which was never communicated to me) between the said *Samuel* and his son *Thornton Washington*, the latter became possessed of the aforesaid land, without any con-

veyance having passed from me, either to the said *Pendleton*, the said *Samuel*, or the said *Thornton*, and without any consideration having been made, by which neglect, neither the legal not equitable title has been alienated, it rests therefore with me, to declare my intentions concerning the premises; and these are, to give and bequeath the said land to whomsoever the said *Thornton Washington* (who is also dead) devised the same, or to his heirs for ever, if he died intestate, exonerating the estate of the said *Thornton*, equally with that of the said *Samuel*, from payment of the purchase money, which, with interest, agreeably to the original contract with the said *Pendleton*, would amount to more than 1000*l.* And whereas two other sons of my said deceased brother, *Samuel*, namely, *George Steptoe Washington* and *Lawrence Augustine Washington*, were, by the decease of those to whose care they were committed, brought under my protection, and, in consequence, have occasioned advances on my part for their education at college and other schools, and for their board, cloathing, and other incidental expenses, to the amount of near 5000 dollars, over and above the sums furnished by their estate, which sum it may be inconvenient for them or their father's estate to refund—I do, for these reasons, acquit them and the said estate from the payment thereof, my intention being, that all accounts between them and me, and their father's estate and me, shall stand balanced.

Item—The balance due to me from the estate of *Bartholomew Dandrige*, deceased (my wife's brother) and which amounted, on the first day of October, 1795, to 425*l.* (as will appear by an account rendered by his deceased son, *John Dandridge*, who was the acting executor of his father's will) I release and acquit from the payment thereof. And the negroes (then thirty-three in number) formerly belonging to the said estate, who were taken in execution, sold, and purchased in on my account, in the year ——, and ever since have remained in the possession and to the use of *Mary*, widow of the said *Barth. Dandridge*, with their increase, it is my will and desire, shall continue and be in her possession, without paying hire, or making compensation for the same, for the time past or to come, during her natural life; at the expiration of which, I direct, that all of them who are 40 years old and upwards, shall receive their freedom; all under that age and above 16, shall serve seven years, and no longer; and all under 16 years

shall serve until they are 25 years of age, and then be free. And to avoid disputes respecting the ages of any of these negroes, they are to be taken into the Court of the County in which they reside, and the judgment thereof in this relation shall be final, and record thereof made which may be adduced as evidence at any time thereafter, if disputes should arise concerning the same. And I further direct, that the heirs of the said *Barth. Dandridge* shall, equally, share the benefits arising from the services of the said negroes, according to the tenor of this devise, upon the decease of their mother.

Item—If *Charles Carter*, who intermarried with my niece *Betty Lewis*, is not sufficiently secured in the title to the lots he had of me in the town of Fredericksburg, it is my will and desire, that my executors shall make such conveyances of them as the law requires to render it perfect.

Item—To my nephew *William Augustine Washington*, and his heirs (if he should conceive them to be objects worth prosecuting) a lot in the town of Manchester (opposite to Richmond) No. 265, drawn on my sole account, and also the tenth of 1 or 200 acre lots, and two or three half-acre lots, in the city and vicinity of Richmond, drawn in partnership with nine others, all in the Lottery of the deceased William Byrd, are given; as is also a lot which I purchased of John Hood, conveyed by William Willie and Sam. Gordon, trustees of the said John Hood, numbered 139, in the town of Edinburgh, in the county of Prince George, state of Virginia.

Item—To my nephew *Bushrod Washington*, I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs of this country; I leave to him also such of my private papers as are worth preserving; and at the decease of my wife, and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of books and pamphlets of every kind.

Item—Having sold land which I possessed in the state of Pennsylvania, and part of a tract held in equal right with George Clinton, late Governor of New York, in the state of New York; my share of land and interest in the Great Dismal Swamp, and a tract of land which I owned in the county of Gloucester—withholding the legal titles thereto, until the consideration-money should be paid—and having moreover leased, and

conditionally sold (as will appear by the tenor of the said leases) all my lands upon the Great Kenhawa, and a tract upon Difficult Run in the county of Loudoun, it is my will and direction, that whensoever the contracts are fully and respectively complied with, according to the spirit, true intent and meaning thereof, on the part of the purchasers, their heirs or assigns, that then, and in that case, conveyances are to be made, agreeable to the terms of the said contracts, and the money arising therefrom, when paid, to be vested in bank stock; the dividends thereof, as of that also which is already vested therein, is to inure to my said wife during her life, but the stock itself is to remain and be subject to the general distribution hereafter directed.

Item—To the *Earl of Buchan* I re-commit "the Box made of the Oake that sheltered the brave *Sir William Wallace* after the battle of Falkirk," presented to me by his Lordship in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request "to pass it, on the event of my decease to the man in my country who should appear to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me."—Whether easy or not, to select *the man* who might comport with his Lordship's opinion in this respect, is not for me to say; but conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the recommitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the Goldsmiths, Company of Edinburgh, who presented it to him, and at his request, consented that it should be transferred to me—I do give and bequeath the same to his Lordship; and, in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honour of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favourable sentiments with which he accompanied it.

Item—To my brother *Charles Washington*, I give and bequeath the gold headed Cane left me by Dr. Franklin, in his will. I add nothing to it, because of the ample provision I have made for his issue. To the acquaintances and friends of my juvenile years, *Lawrence Washington* and *Robert Washingtun*, of Choptanck, I give my other two gold headed Canes, having my arms engraved on them; and to each (as they will be useful where they live) I leave one of the Spy Glasses, which constituted part of my equipage during the late war. To my compatriot in arms and old and intimate friend, Dr. *Craik*, I give my Bureau, or, as the Cabinet makers call it, Tambour Secretary, and the circular Chair an

appendage of my study. To Dr. *David Stuart*, I give my large Shaving and Dressing Table, and my Telescope. To the Reverend, now, *Bryan Lord Fairfax*, I give a Bible in three large folio volumes, with notes, presented to me by the Rt. Rev. *Thomas Wilson*, bishop of Sodor and Man. To General *De la Fayette*, I give a pair of finely wrought steel Pistols, taken from the enemy in the Revolutionary War. To my sisters in law, *Hannah Washington* and *Mildred Washington*—to my friends *Eleanor Stuart*, *Hannah Washington*, of Fairfield, and *Elizabeth Washington*, of Hayfield, I give, each, a Mourning Ring of the value of 100 dollars. These bequests are not made for the intrinsic value of them, but as mementoes of my esteem and regard. To *Tobias Lear*, I give the use of the farm which he now holds, in virtue of a lease from me to him and his deceased wife (for and during their natural lives) free from rent during his life; at the expiration of which, it is to be disposed of as is herein after directed. To *Sally B. Haynie*, (a distant relation of mine) I give and bequeath 300 dollars. To *Sarah Green*, daughter of the deceased *Thomas Bishop*, and to *Ann Walker*, daughter of *John Alton*, also deceased, I give each one hundred dollars, in consideration of the attachment of their fathers to me, each of whom having lived nearly forty years in my family. To each of my nephews, *William Augustine Washington*, *George Lewis*, *George Steptoe Washington*, *Bushrod Washington*, and *Samuel Washington*, I give one of the Swords, or Cutteaux, of which I may die possessed; and they are to choose inthe order they are named. These swords are accompanied with an injunction, not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defence, or in defence of their country and its Rights; and in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.

And now, having gone through these specific Devises, with explanations for the more correct understanding of the meaning and design of them, I proceed to the distribution of the more important parts of my estate, in manner following:—

First—To my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, and his heirs, (partly in consideration of an intimation to his deceased father, while we were bachelors, and he had kindly undertaken to superintend my estate during my military services in the former war between Great Britain and France, that if I should fall therein,

Mount Vernon, then less extensive in domain than at present should become his property) I give and bequeath all that part thereof which is comprehended within the following limits, viz. Beginning at the ford of Dogue Run near my mill, and extending along the road, and bounded thereby, as it now goes and ever has gone since my recollection of it, to the ford of Little Hunting Creek, at the Gum Spring, until it comes to a knowl opposite to an old road which formerly passed through the lower field of Muddy-hole Farm, at which, on the north side of the said road, are three red or Spanish oaks marked as a corner, and a stone placed—thence by a line of trees to be marked rectangular, to the back line or outer boundary of the track between Thomas Mason and myself—thence with that line easterly (now double ditching, with a post-and-rail fence thereon) to the run of Little Hunting creek—thence with that run which is boundary between the lands of the late H. Peake and me, to the tide water of the said creek—thence by that water to Potomac River—thence with the river to the mouth of Dogue creek—and thence with the said Dogue creek to the place of beginning at the aforesaid ford; containing upwards of 4000 acres, be the same more or less, together with the Mansion House and all other buildings and improvements thereon.

Second—In consideration of the consanguinity between them and my wife, being as nearly related to her as to myself, and on account of the affection I had for, and the obligation I was under to, their father, when living, who, from his youth, had attached himself to my person, and followed my fortunes through the vicissitudes of the late Revolution, afterwards devoting his time to the superintendance of my private concerns for many years, whilst my public employments rendered it impracticable for me to do it myself thereby affording me essential services, and always performing them in a manner the most filial and respectful—For these reason, I say, I give and bequeath to *George Fayette Washington* and *Lawrence Augustine Washington*, and their heirs, my estate east of Little Hunting creek, lying on the river Potomac, including the farm of 360 acres, leased to *Tobias Lear*, as noticed before, and containing in the whole, by deed, two thousand and twenty-seven acres, be it more or less; which said estate it is my will and desire, should be equitably and advantageously divided between them, accord-

ing to quantity, quality, and other circumstances, when the youngest shall have arrived at the age of 21 years, by three judicious and disinterested men; one to be chosen by each of the brothers, and the third by these two. In the mean time, if the termination of my wife's interest therein should have ceased, the profits arising therefrom are to be applied for their joint uses and benefits.

Third—And whereas it has always been my intention, since my expectation of having issues has ceased, to consider the grand children of my wife, in the same light as I do my own relations, and to act a friendly part by them, more especially by the two whom we have raised from their earliest infancy—namely, *Eleanor Park Custis*, and *George Washington Park Custis*. And whereas the former of these hath lately intermarried with *Lawrence Lewis*, a son of my deceased sister, *Betty Lewis*, by which union the inducement to provide for them both has been increased, Wherefore I give and bequeath to the said *Lawrence Lewis* and *Eleanor Park Lewis*, his wife, and their heirs, the residue of my Mount Vernon estate, not already devised to my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, comprehended within the following description, viz. All the land north of the road leading from the ford of Dogue Run to the Gum Spring, as described in the devise of the other part of the tract to *Bushrod Washington*, until it comes to the stone and three red or Spanish oaks on the knowl; thence with the rectangular line to the back line (between Mr. Mason and me) thence with that line westerly along the new double ditch to Dogue Run by the tumbling dam of my mill; thence with the said run to the ford afore-mentioned; to which I add all the land I possess west of the said Dogue Run and Dogue Creek, bounded easterly and southerly thereby; together with the mill, distillery, and all other houses and improvements on the premises; making together about 2000 acres, be it more or less.

Fourth—Actuated by the principle already mentioned, I give and bequeath to *George Washington Park Custis*, the grandson of my wife, and my ward, to his heirs, the tract I hold on Four Mile Run, in the vicinity of Alexandria, containing 1200 acres, more or less, and my entire square, No. 21, in the city of Washington.

Fifth—All the rest and residue of my estate, real and personal, not disposed of in manner aforesaid, in whatsoever consisting, wheresoever lying, and wheresoever

found, (a Schedule of which as far as is recollected, with a reasonable estimate of its value, is hereunto annexed) I desire may be sold by my Executors, at such times, in such manner, and on such credits (if an equal, valid, and satisfactory distribution of the specific property cannot be made without) as in their judgment shall be most conducive to the interest of the parties concerned, and the monies arising therefrom to be divided into twenty-three equal parts, and applied as follows, viz. To *William Augustine Washington*, *Elizabeth Spotswood*, *Jane Thornton*, and the heirs of *Ann Ashton*, son and daughters of my deceased brother *Augustine Washington*, I give and bequeath four parts, that is, one part to each of them: To *Fielding Lewis*, *George Lewis*, *Robert Lewis*, *Howell Lewis*, and *Betty Carter*, sons and daughter of my deceased sister *Betty Lewis*, I give and bequeath five other parts, one to each of them: To *George Steptoe Washington*, *Lawrence A. Washington*, *Harriot Parks*, and the heirs of *Thornton Washington*, sons and daughter of my deceased brother *Samuel Washington*, I give and bequeath the other four parts, one part to each of them: To *Corbin Washington*, and the heirs of *Jane Washington*, son and daughter of my deceased brother *John A. Washington*, I give and bequeath two parts, one part to each of them: To *Samuel Washington*, *Frances Ball*, and *Mildred Hammond*, son and daughters of my brother *Charles Washington*, I give and bequeath three parts, one part to each of them; and to *George F. Washington*, *Charles A. Washington*, and *Maria Washington*, sons and daughter of my deceased neghew, *George A. Washington*, I give one other part, that is, to each a third of that part, To *Eliz. Park Law*, *Martha Park Peter*, and *Eleanor Park Lewis*, I give and bequeath three other parts, that is, a part to each of them: And, to my nephews, *Bushrod Washington* and *Law. Lewis*, and to my Ward, the grand son of my wife, I give and bequeath one other part, that is, a third thereof to each of them. And if it should so happen, that any of the persons whose names are here enumerated (unknown to me) should now be dead, or should die before me, that in either of these cases, the heirs of such deceased persons shall, notwithstanding, derive all the benefits of the bequest, in same manner as if he or she was actually living at the time. And, by way of advice, I recommended to my Executors not to be precipitate in disposing of the landed property (therein directed to be sold) if from temporary

causes the sale thereof should be dull; experience having fully evinced, that the price of land, especially above the falls of the rivers and on the western waters, have been progressively rising and cannot be long checked in its increasing value. And I particularly recommend it to such of the Legatees (under this clause of my will) as can make it convenient to take each a share of my stock in the Potomac Company, in preference to the amount of what it might sell for—being thoroughly convinced myself, that no uses to which the money can be applied, will be so productive as the tolls arising from the navigation when in full operation (and this from the nature of things it must be ere long) and more especially if that of the Shenandoah is added thereto.

The Family Vault at *Mount Vernon*, requiring repairs, and being improperly situated besides I desire that a new one of brick, and upon a larger scale may be built at the foot of what is commonly called the Vineyard inclosure, on the ground which is marked out—In which my remains, with those of my deceased relations (now in the old Vault) and such others of my Family, as may chuse to be entombed there, may be deposited. And it is my express desire, that my corps may be interred in a private manner, without parade or funeral oration.

Lastly—I constitute and appoint my dearly beloved wife *Martha Washington*, my nephews, *William Augustine Washington*, *Bushrod Washington*, *George Steptoe Washington*, *Samuel Washington*, and *Lawrence Lewis*, and my Ward *George Washington Park Custis* (when he shall have arrived at the age of twenty years) Executrix and Executors of this my *Will* and *Testament*—In the construction of which, it will readily be perceived, that no professional character has been consulted, or has had any agency in the draught; and, that although it has occupied many of my leisure hours to digest, and to throw it into its present form, it may notwithstanding, appear crude and incorrect—but having endeavoured to be plain and explicit in all the Devises, even at the expense of prolixity, perhaps of tautology, I hope and trust, that no disputes will arise concerning them; but if, contrary to expectation, the case should be otherwise from the want of legal expression, or the usual technical terms, or because too much or too little has been said on any of the Devises to be consonant with law, my Will and Direction expressly is,

that all disputes (if unhappily any should arise) shall be decided by three impartial and intelligent men, known for their probity and good understanding—two to be chosen by the disputants, each having the choice of one, and the third by those two—which three men thus chosen shall, unfettered by law or legal constructions, declare the sense of the testator's intentions; and such decision is, to all intents and purposes, to be as binding on the parties as if it had been given in the Supreme Court of the United States.

In Witness of all and each of the things herein contained, I have set my Hand and Seal, this ninth day of July, in the Year one thousand seven hundred and ninety ——,* and of the Independence of the United States the twenty fourth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SCHEDULE.

Of property comprehended in the foregoing Will, *directed to be sold, and some of it conditionally is sold, with descriptive and explanatory notes.*

IN VIRGINIA.

	acres.	*price.*	*dollars.*
Loudoun co. Difficult Run,	300		6,666*a*
Loudoun and Fauquier,			
Ashby's Bent,	2481	10*d.*	24,180 } *b*
Chattin's Run,	885	8	7,010 }
Berkley, S. fork of Bouliskin,	1600		
Head of Even's mill,	453		
In Wormley's line,	183		
	2236	20	44,720*c.*
Frederick, bo't from Mercer,	671	20	11,420*d*
Hamshire, on Potomac river above B.	240	15	3,600*e*
Gloucester, on North river,	400	*about*	3,600*f*
Nansemond, near Suffolk, one third of 1,119 acres,	373	8	2,994*g*
Great Dismal Swamp, my divident thereof,		*about*	20,000*h*
Ohio river, Round Bottom,	567	} 2901	
Little Kanhawa,	2314	}	

* *It appears the Testator omitted the word* nine.

	acres.	price.	dollars.
Sixteen miles lower down,	2448		
Opposite Big Bent,	4395		
		dollars.	
	8744	10	97,440*i*

GREAT KANHAWA.

Near the North West,	10,180		
East side above,	7,275		
Mouth of Cole river,	2,000		
Opposite thereto, 2,950 } Burning Spring, 125 }	3 075		
			200,000*k*

MARYLAND.

Charles County,	600	6	3,600*l*
Montgomery ditto,	519	12	6,229*m*

PENNSYLVANIA.

Great Meadows,	234	5	1,404*n*

NEW YORK.

Mohawk, river,	*about* 1000	6	6,000*o*

NORTH WEST TERRITORY.

On Little Miami,	339		
Ditto,	977		
Ditto,	1235		
	3251	5	15,251*p*

KENTUCKY.

Rough Creek,	3000		
Ditto adjoining,	2000		
	5000	2	10,000*q*

LOTS, *Viz.*

CITY OF WASHINGTON.

	dolls.
Two near the capitol, square 634, cost 963 dollars, and with buildings,	15000*r*
Nos 5, 12, 13, and 14, the three last water lots on the Eastern Branch, in square 667, containing together 34,438 square feet, at 12 cents,	4132*s*

ALEXANDRIA.

Corner of Pitt and Prince streets, half an acre laid out in buildings, three or four of which are let on ground rent at three dollars per foot,	4000*t*

WINCHESTER.

A lot in the town of half an acre, and another in the commons of about six acres supposed	400*u*

BATH OR WARM SPRINGS.

Two well situated, and had buildings to the amount of 150*l.*	800*v*

STOCK.

UNITED STATES.

Six per cent.		3,746	
Ditto deferred,	1,873	2,500	
Three per cent.	2,946		
			6246*w*

POTOMAC COMPANY.

Twenty four shares cost each 100*l.* sterling,	10,666*x*

JAMES RIVER COMPANY.

Five shares, each cost 100 dollars,	500*l*

BANK OF COLUMBIA.

One hundred and seventy shares, cost 40 dollars each,	6,800*z*

BANK OF ALEXANDRIA.

Besides 20 shares to the free school—five,	1000

STOCK LIVING, Viz.

One covering horse, five carriage horses, four riding ditto, six brood mares, 20 working horses and mares, two covering jacks, and three young ones, ten she asses, forty-two working mules, fifteen younger ones, 329 head of horned cattle, 640 head of sheep, and a large stock of hogs, the precise number unknown—☞My manager has estimated this live stock at 7,000*l.* but I shall set it down in order to make a round sum, at	15653
Aggregate amount,	30,000

NOTES.

a This tract, for the seize of it is valuable, more for its situation than the quality of its soil, though that is good for farming; with a considerable proportion of ground, that might very easily be improved into meadow. It lies on the great road from the city of Washington, Alexandria, and George Town, to Leesburg and Winchester, at Difficult Bridge, nineteen miles from Alexandria, less from the city and George Town, and not more than three from Matildaville, at the great falls of Potomac. There is a valuable seat on the premises, and the whole is conditionally sold for the sum annexed in the schedule.

b What the selling prices of lands in the vicinity of these two tracts are, I know not; but compared with

those above the ridge, and others below it, the value annexed will appear moderate; a less one would not obtain them from me.

c The surrounding land not superior in soil, situation or properties of any sort, sells currently at from twenty to thirty dollars an acre. The lowest price is affixed to these.

d The observations made in the last note, apply equally to this tract, being in the vicinity of them, and of similar quality although it lies in another county.

e This tract, though small, is extremely valuable. It lies on Potomac river, about twelve miles above the town of Bath (or Warm Springs) and is in the shape of a horse-shoe, the river running almost around it. Two hundred acres of it are rich low grounds, with a great abundance of the largest and finest walnut trees, which with the produce of the soil, might (by means of the improved navigation of the Potomac) be brought to a shipping port with more ease, and at a smaller expense, than that which is transported thirty miles only by land.

f This tract is of second rate Gloucester low grounds. It has no improvements thereon, but lies on navigable water, abounding in fish and oysters. It was received in payment of a debt (carrying interest) and valued, in the year 1789, by an impartial gentleman, at 800*l*.—— N. B. It has lately been sold, and there is due thereon a balance equal to what is annexed in the schedule.

g These 373 acres are the third part of undivided purchases made by the deceased Fielding Lewis, Thomas Walker and myself, on full conviction that they would become valuable.—The land lies on the road from Suffolk to Norfolk, touches (if I am not mistaken) some part of the navigable water of Nansemond river; the rich Dismal Swamp is capable of great improvement, and, from its situation, must become extremely valuable.

h This is an undivided interest which I held in the great Dismal Swamp Company, containing about four thousand acres, with my part of the plantation and stock thereon, belonging to the company in the said Swamp.

i These several tracts of land are of the first quality on the Ohio river, in the parts where they are situated, being almost, if not altogether, river bottom. The smallest of these tracts is actually sold at ten dollars an acre, but the consideration therefor not received. The

rest are equally valuable, and will sell as high, especially that which lies just below the Little Kenhawa; and is opposite to a thick settlement on the west side of the river. The four tracts have an aggregate breadth upon the river of sixteen miles, and are bounded there by that distance.

k These tracts are situated upon the great Kenhawa river, and the first four are bounded thereby for more than forty miles. It is acknowledged by all who have seen them, and of the tract containing ten thousand nine hundred and ninety acres, which I have been on myself, I can assert, that there is no richer or more valuable land in all that region. They are conditionally sold for the sum mentioned in the schedule, that is, two hundred thousand dollars, and if the terms of that sale are not complied with, they will command considerable more. The tract, of which the one hundred and twenty five acres is a moiety, was taken up by General Andrew Lewis and myself, for, and on account of a bituminous spring which it contains, of so inflammable a nature as to burn as freely as spirits, and is nearly as difficult to extinguish.

l I am but little acquainted with this land, although I have once been on it. It was received, many years since, in discharge of a debt due to me from Daniel Jenifer Adams, at the value annexed thereto, and must be worth more. It is very level; lies near the river Potomac.

m This tract lies about thirty miles above the city of Washington, not far from Kitoctan. It is good farming land, and by those who are well acquainted with it, I am informed that it would sell at twelve or fifteen dollars per acre.

n This land is valuable on account of its local situation and other properties. It affords an exceeding good stand on Braddock's road from fort Cumberland to Pittsburgh; and, beside a fertile soil, possesses a large quantity of natural meadow, fit for the sithe. It is distinguished by the appellation of the Great Meadows, where the first action with the French, in the year 1754, was fought.

o This is the moiety of about two thousand acres which remains unsold, of six thousand seventy one acres on the Mohawk river, Montgomery county, in a patent granted to Daniel Coxe, in the township of Coxborough and Carolina, as will appear by deed, from Marinus Willet and wife, to George Clinton, late governor of New York, and myself. The latter sales have

been at six dollars an acres, and what remains unsold will fetch that or more.

p The quality of these lands and their situation, may be known by the surveyor's certificates, which are filed along with the patents. They lie in the vicinity of Cincinnati; one tract near the mouth of the Little Miami; another seven, and the third ten miles up the same. I have been informed that they will readily command more than they are estimated at.

q For the description of those tracts in detail, see Gen. Spotswood's letters, filed with the other papers relating to them. Beside the general good quality of the land, there is a valuable bank of iron ore thereon, which, when the settlement becomes more populous, and settlers are moving that way very fast, will be found very valuable, as the Rough creek, and a branch of Green river, affords ample water for furnances and forges.

LOTS, *Viz.*

CITY OF WASHINGTON.

r The two lots near the capitol, in square 634, cost me nine hundred and sixty three dollars only; but in this price I was favoured, on condition that I should build two brick houses three stories high each; without this reduction the selling prices of these lots would have cost me about one thousand three hundred and fifty dollars. These lots, with the buildings on them, when completed will stand me in fifteen thousand dollars at least.

s Lots Nos. 5, 12, 13, and 14, on the Eastern Branch, are advantageously situated on the water; and although many lots much less convenient have sold a great deal higher, I will rate these at twelve cents the square foot only.

ALEXANDRIA.

t For this lot, though unimproved, I have refused three thousand five hundred dollars. It has since been laid off into proper sized lots for building on, three or four of which are let on ground rent for ever, at three dollars a foot on the street; and this price is asked for both fronts on Pitt and Prince streets.

WINCHESTER.

u As neither the lot in the town or common have any improvements on them, it is not easy to fix a price; but as both are well situated, it is presumed the price annexed to them in the schedule is a reasonable valuation.

BATH.

v The lots in Bath, two adjoining, cost me to the best of my recollection between fifty and sixty pounds, twenty years ago; and the buildings thereon one hundred and fifty pounds more. Whether property there has increased or decreased in its value, and in what condition the houses are, I am ignorant; but suppose they are not valued too high.

STOCK.

w These are the sums which are actually funded, and though no more in the aggregate than seven thousand five hundred and sixty six dollars, stand me in at least ten thousand pounds, Virginia money; being the amount of bonded and other debts due to me, and discharging during the war, when money had depreciated in that rate; and was so settled by public authority.

x The value annexed to these shares is what they actually cost me, and is the price affixed by law; and although the present selling price is under par, my advice to the legatees, for whose benefit they are intened, especially those who can afford to lie out of the money, is, that each should take and hold one; there being a moral certainty of a great and increasing profit arising from them in the course of a few years.

y It is supposed that the shares in the James River Company must also be productive; but of this I can give no decided opinion, for want of more accurate information.

z These are the nominal prices of the shares in the banks of Alexandria and Columbia; the selling prices vary according to circumstances; but as the stock usually divides from eight to ten per cent. per annum, they must be worth the former, at least, so long as the banks are conceived to be secure, although circumstances may sometimes make them below it.

The value of the live stock depends more upon the quality than quantity of the different species of it; and this again upon the demand and judgment, or fancy of purchasers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Mount Vernon, July 9, 1799.

COMMENT

ON

WASHINGTON'S WILL.

WE would fain believe that the whole of General Washington's will has been perused by no man without some portion of that calm and pleasurable elevation which uniformly leaves us better and wiser beings. It would have been deeply interesting, considered only as the last deliberate act of a life so beneficial to the human race; but independently of this sublime association, it is in itself an affecting and most instructive composition. Like all the former manifestations of his character, it gives proof that a true and solid greatness may exist, and make itself felt, without any admixture of wildness, without any obstrusive appeals to the imagination; it gives proof, consolatory and inspiriting proof, how many virtues, too often deemed incompaible with each other, a thinking and upright mind may unite in itself. It were scarcely too much to affirm of this will, that all the main elements of public and private morals, of civil and domestic wisdom, are conveyed in it either directly or by implication It is, indeed no less than an abstract of his opinions and feelings as a *patriot*, *friend*, and *relation*; and all arising naturally and unostentatiously out of the final disposal of a fortune, not more honourably earned than beneficently employed. Appertaining to his character, as the American *patriot*, more exclusively than the other pages of his will, is the plan and endowment of a *central university*. The motives which impelled the General to this bequest, he has stated with such beauty and precision, as scarcely leave any thing for the philosopher

or the eulogist to add. We can only subjoin to the advantages so ably enumerated, that such an institution must be eminently serviceable to America, as having a direct tendency to soften and liberalise the too great commercial spirit of that country, in as far as it will connect the pleasures and ambition of its wealthier citizens, in the most impressible period of life, with objects abstract and unworldly; and that while by friendships and literary emulations it may remove local jealouses, it will tend to decorate the American character with an ornament hitherto wanting in it, viz. genuine local attachments, unconnected with pecuniary interests.

Of a mixt nature, partly belonging to the patriot, and partly to the master of a family, is the humane, earnest, and solemn wish concerning the emancipation of the slaves on his estate. It explains with infinite delicacy and manly sensibility, the true cause of his not having emancipated them in his life time; and should operate as a caution against those petty libellers, who interpret the whole of a character by a part, instead of interpreting a part by the whole. We feel ourselves at a loss which most to admire in this interesting paragraph, the deep and weighty feeling of the general principle of universal liberty; or the wise veneration of those fixed laws in society, without which that universal liberty must for ever remain impossible, and which, therefore, must be obeyed even in those cases were they *suspend* the action of that general principle; or, lastly, the affectionate attention to the particular feelings of the slaves themselves, with the ample provision for the aged and infirm. Washington was no "architect of ruin!"

In the bequests to his friends, the composition evidences the peculiar delicacy and correctness of his mind. The high value which he attached to his old friend, Dr. Franklin's legacy of the glod-headed cane, by bequeathing it, and it alone to his brother, Charles Washington; the spy-glasses, left, with the modest parenthesis, "because they will be useful to them where they live;" yet not without stamping the value on these precious relics, as having been useful to himself in the deliverance of his country; the wisdom of remitting the box to lord Buchan, with the gentle implication of the impractibility and impropriety of performing the conditions, with which the box had been originally accompanied; that reverence for the primary designation of a gift, implied in these words "agreeably to the

original design of the Goldsmiths' Company of Edinburgh," and which words were besides necessary in order to prevent the interpretation, that he had remitted it from inability to find any man in his own country equally deserving of it with the earl; the bequest of the bible, and of the swords, the first without annotation, the last with the solemnity of a Christian hero; all and each of these we have dwelt upon, as evidences of a mind strong and healthful, yet with a fineness and rapidity of the associating power, seldom found even in those who derive sensibility from nervous disease. The gratitude, the deep and immortal gratitude, displayed in the declaration of the motives of his bequest to his nephew, Bushrod Washington, is of a still higher class of excellence; and the virtue is individualised, and has a new interest given it, by his attention to the very letter of an old promise, no longer in force. The accuracy with which the estates are marked out, will aid the distant posterity of the present Americans, in their reverential pilgrimages to the seat of their great *Pater Patriæ*. The attachment which he has shown to all his relations, the provision he has made for them all, and the attention to honourable causes of local preferment in these provisions, are circumstances highly noticeable Highly noticeable too in the disjunction of this family attachment from that desire of the agrandizement of some one branch of the family, so commonly adherent to it He has weakened by evidence, the best and almost the only argument for primogeniture, *in new countries*. One fact strikes us particularly in the perusal of this will. Of all Washington's numerous relations, not one appears as a placeman or beneficiary of the government, not one appears to have received any thing from their kinsman as President and influencer of the United States, yet all have evidences of the zeal and affection of the President, as their kinsman. *It is not so every where*, There is something in the arangement of the will, beyond any example, which we recollect, instructive and judicious. He commences with a positive or perfect duty, the payment of debts; then goes immediately to the most respectful and affectionate attention to his wife, which becomes more intellectual, more moral, from the circumstances, which he after notices, of his having remained without issue; he proceeds to his concerns as master of his family, and provides for the emancipation of his slaves; and hav-

ing finished his most immediate and *most* sacred offices, viz. the domestic duties, he rises, *then*, and *not till then*, into the *patriot*, and founds a central university! After his own family, comes his country, and then his relations by consanquinity not of his own family—after these his friends, and all those whom fellowship in arms, or old acquaintance had endeared to him; and last of all, he proceeds to the circumstantial disposal of his estate. Throughout the whole, there reigns a *humaneness* of feeling, a complete union of himself with the mass of his fellow-citizens, so as even to avoid references to any public characters in that country: and above all, an ardent wish for improvement, combined with reverential observance, and affectionate awe for the present and existing customs and feelings. But *Washington* was too great a man to court singularity. The dwarf, that steps aside from the crowd, and walks by himself, may gain the whole crowd to turn and stare at him—*Washington* could attract their admiration while he moved on with them, and in the midst of them!

MISSCELLANOUS ACTICLES

RELATING TO THE LIFE AND DEATH OF

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

APOSTROPHE.

By P——

OH *Washington!* thou hero, patriot, sage!
Friend of all climes, and pride of every age!
Were thine the laurels, every soil could raise,
The mighty harvest were penurious praise.
Well may our realms, thy Fabian wisdom boast;
Thy prudence sav'd, what bravery had lost.
Yet e'er hast thou, by Heaven's severer fates,
Like *Sparta's* hero at the Grecian straits,
Been doom'd to meet, in arms, a world of foes,
Whom skill could not defeat, nor walls oppose,
Then had thy breast, by danger ne'er subdued,
The mighty *Buckler* of thy country stood;
Proud of its wounds, each piercing spear would bless,
Which left *Columbia's* foes one javelin less;
Nor felt one pang—but, in the glorious deed,
Thy little band of heroes too, must bleed,
Nor throbb'd one fear—but, that some poison'd dart
Thy breast might pass, and reach thy *Country's* heart!

EULOGY.

Of the right honourable Charles James Fox, on General Washington, pronounced by him in the British house of Commons in the year 1794.

——"*Illustrious* Man!—deriving honour less from the splendour of his situation, than from the dignity of his mind, before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance!—I cannot, indeed, help admiring the wisdom and the fortune of this *Great Man!*—Not by the expression fortune, I mean to derogate from his merit; but notwithstanding his extraordinary talents and exalted integrity, it must be considered as singularly fortunate, that he should have experienced a lot which so seldom falls to the portion of humanity, and have passed through such a variety of scenes without stain and without reproach!—It must indeed create astonishment, that, placed in circumstances so critical, and filling, for a series of time, a station so conspicuous, his character should never once have been called in question—that he should in no one instance have been accused either of peevish insolence, or of mean submision, in his transactions with foreign nations—It has been reserved for him to run the race of glory, without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career! The breath of censure has not dared to impeach the purity of his conduct, nor the eye of envy to raise its malignant glance to the elevation of his virtue—Such has been the transcendant merit and the unparalled fate of this illustrious Man!"

WASHINGTON'S ORDERS.

On the cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and America, General Washington *issued the following orders:*

Head-Quarters, Newburgh, April 19, 1783.

THE commander in chief orders the cessation of hostilities between the United States of America and the king of Great Britain, to be publicly proclaimed to-morrow at twelve o'clock, at the new building; and that the proclamation which which will be communicated herewith, be read to-morrow evening, at the

head of every regiment and corps of the army; after which, the chaplains, with the several brigades, will render thanks to Almighty God for all his mercies, particularly for his over-ruling the wrath of man to his own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease amongst the nations.

Although the proclamation before alluded to, extends only to the prohibition of hostilities, and not to the annunciation of a general peace, yet it must afford the most rational and sincere satisfaction to every benevolent mind, as it puts a period to a long and doubtful contest—stops the effusion of human blood—opens the prospect to a more splendid scene—and, like another morning star, promises the approach of a brighter day than has hitherto illuminated this western hemisphere! On such a happy day—a day which is the harbinger of peace—a day which completes the eighth year of the war, it would be ingratitude not to rejoice: it would be insensibility not to participate in the general felicity.

The commander in chief, far from endeavouring to stifle the feelings of joy in his own bosom, offers his most cordial congratulations on the occasion, to all the officers of every denomination—to all the troops of the United States in general, and in particular to those gallant and persevering men, who had resolved to defend the rights of their invaded country so long as the war should continue; for these are the men who ought to be considered as the pride and boast of the American army, and who, crowned with well-earned laurels, may soon withdraw from the field of glory to the more tranquil walks of civil life.

While the General recollects the almost infinite variety of scenes through which we have passed with a mixture of pleasure, astonishment and gratitude—while he contemplates the prospects before us with rapture—he cannot help wishing that all the brave men, of whatever condition they may be, who have shared in the toils and dangers of effecting this glorious revolution, of rescuing millions from the hands of oppression, and of laying the foundation of a great empire, might be impressed with a proper idea of the dignied part they have been called to act (under the smiles of Providence) on the stage of human affairs; for happy, thrice happy, shall they be pronounced hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous *fabric of Freedom and Empire*, on the broad basis of independency; who have assisted in protecting

the rights of human nature, and establishing an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions.

The glorious task for which we first flew to arms, being thus accomplished—the Liberties of our country being fully acknowledged and firmly secured, by the smiles of Heaven, on the purity of our cause, and the honest exertion of a feeble people, determined to be free, against a powerful nation disposed to oppress them; and the character of those who have persevered through every extremity of hardship, suffering, and danger, being immortalized by the illustrious appellation of the *Patriot Army*, nothing now remains but for the actors of this mighty scene to preserve a perfect, unvarying consistency of character through the very last act; to close the drama with applause; and to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men, which have crowned all their former virtuous actions.

For this purpose, no disorder or licentiousness must be tolerated; every considerate and well-disposed soldier must remember, it will be absolutely necessary to wait with patience, until peace shall be declared, or Congress shall be enabled to take proper measures for the security of the public stores, &c. As soon as these arrangements shall be made, the General is confident there will be no delay in discharging, with every mark of distinction and honour, all the men enlisted for the war, who will then have faithfully performed their engagements with the public. The General has already interested himself in their behalf; and he thinks he need not repeat the assurances of his disposition to be useful to them on the present, and every other proper occasion. In the mean time he is determined that no military neglects or excesses shall go unpunished, while he retains the command of the army.

The Adjutant-general will have such working-parties detached to assist in making the preparations for a general rejoicing, as the chief engineer, with the army, shall call for; and the quarter-master-general will also furnish such materials as he may want. The quarter-master-general will, without delay, procure such a number of discharges to be printed as will be sufficient for all the men enlisted for the war; he will please to apply to head-quarters for the form.

An extra ration of liquor to be issued to every man to-morrow, to drink *perpetual peace, Independence, and Happiness, to the United States of America.*

A CIRCULAR LETTER,

From his excellency George Washington, *commander in chief of the armies of the United States of America, to the Governors of the several States.*

Head-Quarters, Newburgh, June 18, 1783,

SIR,

THE great object for which I had the honour to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of Congress, and return to that domestic retirement, which, it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance; a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of my life in a state of undisturbed repose; but, before I carry this resolution into effect, think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favour, to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States, to take my leave of your Excellency as a public character, and to give my final blessing to that country in whose service I have spent the prime of my life; for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights; and whose happiness being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

Impressed with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subject of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the price we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favourable manner in which it has terminated; we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing: this is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as a source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of view.

The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency; they are, from this period to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity: here they are not only surrounded with every thing that can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment, but Heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a surer opportunity for political happiness, than any other nation has ever been favoured with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than the recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, under which our Republic assumed its rank among the nations. The foundation of our empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epoch when the rights of mankind were better understood, and more clearly defined than at any former period: researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent: the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophors, sages, and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for us, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government: the free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commeree, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and, above all, the pure and benign light of Revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period the United States came into existence as a nation, and if their citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

Such is our situation, and such are our prospects; but notwithstanding the cup of blessing is thus reached out to us—notwithstanding happiness is ours. if we have a disposition to seize the occasion, and make it our own; yet it appears to me, there is an option still left to the United States of America, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation. This is the time of their political probation; this is the moment, when the eyes of the whole world are

turned upon them; this is the time to establish or ruin their national character forever; this is the favourable moment to give such a tone to the federal government as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution; or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the union, annihilating the cement of the confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one state against another, to prevent growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the states shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall; and, by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse; not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

With this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime. I will therefore speak to your Excellency the language of freedom and sincerity, without disguise. I am aware, however, those who differ from me in political sentiments may perhaps remark, I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty; and they may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation, what I know is alone the result of the purest intention; but the rectitude of my own heart, which disdains such unworthy motives—the part I have hitherto acted in life—the determination I have formed of not taking any share in public business hereafter—the ardent desire I feel and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government—will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, convince my countrymen, that I could have no sinister views in delivering, with so little reserve, the opinions contained in this address.

There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may venture to say, to the existence of the United States, as an independent power.

1*st*. An indissoluble union of the states under one federal head.

2*dly*. A sacred regard to public justice.

3*dly*. The adoption of a proper peace establishment. And,

4*thly*. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and

policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis, and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country.

On the three first articles I will make a few observations, leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

Under the first head, although it may not be necessary or proper for me in this place to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the union, and to take up the great question which has been frequently agitated, whether it be expedient and requisite for the states to delegate a large proportion of power to Congress, or not; yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true patriot, to assert, without reserve, and to insist upon the following positions:—That unless the states will suffer Congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion. That it is indispensible to the happiness of the individual states, that there should be lodged, somewhere, a supreme power, to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the union cannot be of long duration. That there must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every state with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue. That whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the Liberty and Independency of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly. And lastly, that unless we can be enabled by the concurrence of the states, to participate of the fruits of the revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of civil society, under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the articles of confederation, it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose; that so many sufferings have been encounte-

red without a compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain. Many other considerations might here be adduced to prove, that without an entire conformity to the spirit of the union, we cannot exist as an Independent power. It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one or two, which seem to me of the greatest importance.—It is only in our united character, as an empire, that our Independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America, will have no validity on the dissolution of the union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature; or we may find, by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of Liberty abused to licentiousness.

As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, Congress, have, in their late Address to the United States, almost exhausted the subject; they have explained their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the states are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors, with so much dignity and energy, that in my opinion, no real friend to the honour and independency of America can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honourable measures proposed. If their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, especially when we reflect that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable of any that could be devised; and that, if it should not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable consequences, will take place, before any different plan can possibly be proposed or adopted; so pressing are the present circumstances, and such is the alternative now offered to the states.

The ability of the country to discharge the debts which have been incurred in its defence, is not to be doubted. An inclination, I flatter myself, will not be wanting; the path of our duty is plain before us; honesty will be found, on every experiment, to be the best and only true policy. Let us then, as a nation, be just; let us fulfil the public contracts which Congress had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpose of carrying on the

war, with the same good faith we suppose ourselves bound to perform our private engagements. In the mean time let an attention to the cheerful performance of their proper business, as individuals, and as members of society, be earnestly inculcated on the citizens of America; then will they strengthen the bands of government, and be happy under its protection. Every one will reap the fruit of his labours; every one will enjoy his own acquisitions, without molestation and without danger.

In this state of absolute freedom and perfect security, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society, and ensure the protection of government? Who does not remember the frequent declarations at the commencement of the war, that we should be completely satisfied, if at the expense of one half, we could defend the remainder of our possessions? Where is the man to be found, who wishes to remain indebted for the defence of his own person and property to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honour and of gratitude? In what part of the continent shall we find any man, or body of men, who would not blush to stand up, and propose measures purposely calculated to rob the soldier of his stipend, and the public creditor of his due? And were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice could ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation, and tend to bring down upon the authors of such measures, the aggravated vengeance of Heaven? If, after all, a spirit of disunion, or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the states; if such an ungracious disposition should attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the union; if there should be a refusal to comply with requisitions for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts, and if that refusal should revive all those jealousies, and produce all those evils which are now happily removed—Congress, who have in all their transactions shewn a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man! And that state alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and follows such mistaken and pernicious councils, will be responsible for all the consequences.

For my own part, conscious of having acted, while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best

suited to promote the real interests of my country; having, in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure, pledged myself to the army, that their country would finally do them complete and ample justice, and not willing to conceal any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your Excellency the inclosed collection of papers, relative to the half-pay and commutation granted by Congress to the officers of the army: from these communications, my decided sentiment will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons, which induced me at an early period, to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner. As the proceedings of Congress, the army, and myself, are open to all, and contain, in my opinion, sufficient information to remove the prejudice and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say any thing more, than just to observe, that the resolutions of Congress, now alluded to, are as undoubtedly and absolutely binding upon the United States as the most solemn acts of confederation or legislation.

As to the idea, which I am informed, has in some instances, prevailed, that the half-pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded forever: that provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by Congress, at a time when they had nothing else to give to officers of the army, for services then to be performed: it was the only means to prevent a total deriliction of the service; it was a part of their hire. I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood, and of your independency; it is therefore more than a common debt, it is a debt of honour; it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity, nor cancelled until it is fairly discharged.

With regard to the distinction between officers and soldiers, it is sufficient that the uniform experience of every nation of the world, combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the discrimination. Rewards, in proportion to the aid the public draws from them, are unquestionably due to all its servants. In some lines, the soldiers have perhaps generally had as ample compensation for their services, by the large bounties which have been paid them, as their officers will receive in the proposed commutation; in others, if besides the donation of land, the payment of arrearages of clothing and wages (in which articles all the compo-

nent parts of the army must be put upon the same footing) we take into the estimate, the bounties many of the soldiers have received, and the gratuity of one year's full pay, which is promised to all, possibly their situation (every circumstance being duly considered) will not be deemed less eligible than that of the officers. Should a farther reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to assert, no man will enjoy greater satisfaction than myself, in an exemption from taxes for a limited time (which has been petitioned for in some instances) or any other adequate immunity or compensation granted to the brave defenders of their country's cause: but neither the adoption or rejection of this proposition will, in any manner affect, much less militate against the act of Congress, by which they have offered five years full pay, in lieu of the half-pay for life, which had been before promised to the officers of the army.

Before I conclude the subject on public justice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious class of veterans, the non-commissioned officers and privates, who have been discharged for inability, in consequence of the resolution of Congress, of the 23d of April, 1782, on an annual pension for life. Their peculiar sufferings, their singular merits and claims to that provision, need only to be known, to interest the feelings of humanity in their behalf. Nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance can rescue them from the most complicated misery; and nothing could be a more melancholy and distressing sight, than to behold those who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs in the service of their country, without a shelter, without a friend, and without the means of obtaining any of the comforts or necessaries of life, compelled to beg their daily bread from door to door. Suffer me to recommend those of this description, belonging to your state, to the warmest patronage of your Excellency and your legislature.

It is necessary to say but a few words on the third topic which was proposod, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic. As there can be little doubt but Congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States, in which a due attention will be paid to the importance of placing the militia of the union upon a regular and respectable footing; if this should be the case, I should beg leave to urge the great advantage of it in the strongest terms.

The militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility; it is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States. No one, who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expense, and confusion which result from a contrary system, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

If, in treating of political points, a greater latitude than usual has been taken in the course of the Address, the importance of the crisis, and the magnitude of the objects in discussion, must be my apology; it is, however, neither my wish nor expectation, that the preceding observations should claim any regard, except so far as they shall appear to be dictated by a good intention; consonant to the immutable rules of justice; calculated to produce a liberal system of policy, and founded on whatever experience may have been acquired by a long and close attention to public business. Here I might speak with more confidence, from my actual observations; and if it would not swell this letter (already too prolix) beyond the bounds I had prescribed myself, I could demonstrate to every mind, open to conviction, that in less time, and with much less expense than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent could have been properly called forth; that the distresses and disappointments which have very often occured, have, in too many instances, resulted more from a want of energy in the continental government, than a deficiency of means in the particular states: that the inefficacy of the measures, arising from the want of an adequate authority in the supreme power, from a partial compliance with the requisitions of Congress in some of the states, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while they tended to damp the zeal of those who were more willing to exert themselves, served also to accumulate the expenses of the war, and to frustrate the best concerted plans; and that the discouragement occasioned by the complicated difficulties and embarrassments, in which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the dissolution of any army, less patient, less virtuous, and less

persevering than that which I have had the honour to command. But while I mention those things, which are notorious facts, as the defects of our federal constitution, particularly in the prosecution of a war, I beg it may be understood, that as I have ever taken a pleasure in gratefully acknowleding the assistance and support I have derived from every class of citizens; so shall I always be happy to do justice to the unparalleled exertions of the individual states, on many interesting occasions.

I have thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me: the task is now accomplished. I now bid adieu to your Excellency, as the chief magistrate of your state: at the same time I bid a last farewell to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

It remains, then, to be my final and only request, that your Excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature at their next meeting; and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the Divine benediction upon it.

I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the state over which you preside, in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large; and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field; and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the divine Author of our blessed religion; without an humble imitation of whose example, in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

I have the honour to be,
with much esteem and respect,
Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient,
and most humble servant,
G. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES,

IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

Princeton, August 26, 1783.

According to order, General Washington *attended, and being introduced by two members, the President addressed him as follows:*

SIR,

CONGRESS feels particular pleasure in seeing your Excellency, and in congratulating you on the success of a war, in which you have acted so conspicuous a part.

It has been the singular happiness of the United States, that during a war so long, so dangerous, and so important, Providence has been graciously pleased to preserve the life of a General, who has merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence and affection of his fellow-citizens. In other nations many have performed services, for which they have deserved and received the thanks of the public; but to you, Sir, peculiar praise is due. Your services have been essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom and independence of your country. They deserve the grateful acknowledgements of a free and independent nation. Those acknowledgements, Congress have the satisfaction of expressing to your Excellency.

Hostilities have now ceased, but your country still needs your services. She wishes to avail herself of your talents in forming the arrangements which will be necessary for her in the time of peace. For this reason your attendance at Congress has been requested. A committee is appointed to confer with your Excellency, and to receive your assistance in preparing and digesting plans relative to those important objects.

THE ANSWER.

Mr. President,

I AM too sensible of the honourable reception I have now experienced, not to be penetrated with the deepest feelings of gratitude.

Notwithstanding Congress appear to estimate the value of my life beyond any services I have been able to render the United States, yet I must be permitted to consider the wisdom and unanimity of our national councils, the firmness of our citizens and the patience and bravery of our troops, which have produced so happy a termination of the war, as the most conspicuous effect of the divine interposition, and the surest presage of our future happiness.

Highly gratified by the favourable sentiments which Congress are pleased to express of my past conduct, and amply rewarded by the confidence and affection of my fellow-citizens; I cannot hesitate to contribute my best endeavours towards the establishment of the national security in whatever manner the sovereign power may think proper to direct, until the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, or the final evacuation of our country by the British forces; after either of which events, I shall ask permission to retire to the peaceful shade of private life.

Perhaps, Sir, no occasion may offer more suitable than the present, to express my humble thanks to God and my grateful acknowledgements to my country, for the great and uniform support I have received in every vicissitude of fortune, and for the many distinguished honours which Congress have been pleased to confer upon me in the course of the war.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

Of General Washington *to the armies of the United States.*

Rocky-Hill, near Princeton, Nov. 2, 1783.

THE United States in Congress assembled, after giving the most honourable testimony to the merits of the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of this country, for their long, eminent and faithful service, having thought proper, by their proclamation bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow, which proclamation having being communicated in the public papers, for the information and government of all concerned; it only re-

mains for the commander in chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States (however widely dispersed individuals who compose them may be) and to bid them an affectionate—a long farewell.

But before the commander in chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight view of the past:—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects; of advising the general line of conduct which in his opinion ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the Address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the complete attainment (at a period earlier than could have been expected) of the object for which we contended, against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The signal interpositions of Providence, in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving; while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this Address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses which in several instances have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigours of an inclement season: nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs.

Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstance which may have occured, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness; events which have seldom if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action, nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who that was not a witness could imagine that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent,

strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or who that was not on the spot, can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description: and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained! In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce, and the cultivation of the soil, will unfold to industry the certain road to competence—To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment: and the extensive and fertile regions of the West, will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and the dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of Congress, and the payment of its just debts; so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that with strong attachment to the union, they should carry with them into civil society, the most conciliating dispositions, and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and uselful as citizens, than they have been victorious as soldiers. What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit, yet, let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct. Let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the United States, has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause. Let it be known and re-

membered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence; and let a consciousness of their atchievements and fame, still excite the men who composed them to honourable actions, under the persuation that the private virtues of economy, prudence and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valour, perseverance, and enterprize were in the field. Every one may rest assured that much, very much of the future happiness of the officers and men, will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And although the General has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal government were properly supported, and the powers of the union encreased, the honour, dignity, and justice of the nation would be lost forever: yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavours to those of his worthy fellow-citizens, towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The commander in chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change the military character into that of the citizen; but that steady, decent tenor of behaviour, which has generally distinguished, not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and armies through the course of the war. From their good sense and prudence he anticipates the happiest consequences; and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner, to the general officers, as well for their councils on many interesting occasions, as for their ardour in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted. To the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the other officers for their zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution—to the staff for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their ex-

traordinary patience and suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action. To the various branches of the army, the General takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship.—He wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done.

And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter attend those, who under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed forever.

THE ANSWER.

WE the officers of part of the army remaining on the banks of the Hudson, have received your Excellency's serious and farewell Address to the armies of the United States. We beg you to accept our unfeigned thanks for the communication, and your affectionate assurances of inviolable attachments and friendship. If your attempts to ensure to the armies the just, the promised rewards, of their long, severe, and dangerous services, have failed of success, we believe it has arisen from causes not in your Excellency's power to controul. With extreme regret do we reflect on the occasion which called for such endeavours. But while we thank your Excellency for these exertions in favour of the troops you have so successfully commanded, we pray it may be believed, that in this sentiment our own particular interests have but a secondary place; and that even the ultimate ingratitude of the people (were that possible) could not shake the patriotism of those who suffer by it. Still with pleasing wonder and grateful joy shall we con-

template the glorious conclusion of our labours. To that merit in the revolution which, under the auspices of Heaven, the armies have displayed, posterity will do justice; and the sons will blush whose fathers were their foes.

Most gladly would we cast a veil on every act which sullies the reputation of our country—never should the page of history be stained with this dishonour—even from our memories should the idea be erased. We lament the opposition to those salutary measures which the wisdom of the union has planned; measures which alone can recover and fix on a permanent basis the credit of the state; measures which are essential to the justice, the honour, and interest of the nation. While she was giving the noblest proofs of magnanimity, with conscious pride we saw her growing fame; and, regardless of present sufferings, we looked forward to the end of our toils and dangers, to brighter scenes in prospect. There we beheld the genius of our country dignified by sovereignty and independence, supported by justice, and adorned with every liberal virtue. There we saw patient husbandry fearless extend her cultured fields, and animated commerce spread her sails to every wind. There we beheld fair science lift her head, with all the arts attending in her train. There, blest with freedom, we saw the human mind expand; and, throwing aside the restraints which confined it to the narrow bounds of country, it embraced the world. Such were our fond hopes, and with such delightful prospects did they present us. Nor are we disappointed. Those animating prospects are now changed, and changing to realities; and actively to have contributed to their production is our pride, our glory.—But justice alone can give them stability. In that justice we still believe. Still we hope that the prejudices of the misinformed will be removed, and the arts of false and selfish popularity, addressed to the feelings of avarice, defeated: or, in the worst event, the world, we hope, will make the just distinction: we trust the disingenuousness of a few will not sully the reputation, the honour, and dignity, of the great and respectable majority of the states.

We are happy in the opportunity just presented of congratulating your Excellency on the certain conclusion of the defensive treaty of peace. Relieved at length from long suspense, our warmest wish is to return to the bosom of our country, to resume the character of citizens; and it will be our highest ambition to become

useful ones. To your Excellency this great event must be peculiarly pleasing: for while at the head of her armies, urged by patriotic virtues and magnanimity, you persevered, under the pressure of every possible difficulty and discouragement, in the pursuit of the great objects of the war—the freedom and safety of your country;—your heart panted for the tranquil enjoyments of peace. We cordially rejoice with you that the period of indulging them has arrived so soon. In contemplating the blessings of liberty and independence, the rich prize of eight years hard adventure, past sufferings will be forgotten; or if remembered, the recollection will serve to heighten the relish of present happiness. We sincerely pray God this happiness may long be your's; and that when you quit the stage of human life, you may receive from the unerring Judge, the rewards of valour exerted to save the oppressed, of patriotism, and disinterested virtue.

INAUGURAL SPEECH

Of President Washington to Congress.

April 30, 1789.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate,
and of the House of Representatives.

AMONG the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that o. which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time.—On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the

duties of civil administration ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that if in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendant proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me; my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station; it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe: who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes; and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; for those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs, of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an Independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberation, and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me,

I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President to "recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In those honourable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side no local prejudices, or attachments—no separate views, no party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so, on the other, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality! and the pre-eminence of free government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world—I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love of my country can inspire. Since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage, between genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven, can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained. And since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the

fifth article of the constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objects which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them.

Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good.

For I assure myself, that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lesson of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of free men, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives, it concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible.

When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which introduced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensibly concluded in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray, that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together—I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunies for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged

views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

LETTER,

From his excellency George Washington, *to the President of the United States, on accepting the appointment of commander in chief of the armies of the United States.*

Mount Vernon, July 13, 1798.

Dear Sir,

I HAD the honour on the evening of the 11th instant, to receive from the hand of the secretary of war, your favour of the 7th, announcing that you had, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed me "Lieutenant-general and Commander in Chief of all the armies raised or to be raised for the service of the United States."

I cannot express how greatly affected I am at this new proof of public confidence, and the highly flattering manner in which you have been pleased to make the communication; at the same time I must not conceal from you my earnest wish, that the choice had fallen upon a man less declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the usual vicissitudes of war.

You know, Sir, what calculation I had made relative to the probable course of events, on my retiring from office, and the determination I had consoled myself with, of closing the remnant of my days in my present peaceful abode: you will therefore be at a loss to conceive and appreciate the sensations I must have experienced, to bring my mind to any conclusion that would pledge me, at so late a period of life, to leave scenes I sincerely love, to enter upon the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble, and high responsibility.

It was not possible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to, recent transactions. The conduct of the Directory of France towards our country; their insidious hostility to its government; their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it; the evident tendency of their acts and those of their agents to countenance and invigorate opposition; their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations; their war upon our defenceless commerce; their treatment of

our ministers of peace; and their demands amounting to tribute, could not fail to excite in me corresponding sentiments with those my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you. Believe me, Sir, no one can more cordially approve of your administration.—They ought to inspire universal confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from Congress such laws and means as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

Satisfied, therefore, that you have sincerely wished and endeavoured to avert war, and exhausted, to the last drop, the cup of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to Heaven for the justice of our cause; and may confidently trust the final result to that kind Providence who has heretofore, and so often, singularly favoured the people of these United States.

Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person of every description, to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and especially in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred is so seriously threatened; I have finally determined to accept the commission of commander in chief of the armies of the United States; with the reserve only, that I shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require my presence, or it becomes indispensible by the urgency of circumstances.

In making this reservation, I beg it to be understood, that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you may think I can afford. I take the liberty also to mention, that I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public; or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expense.

The Secretary of War being anxious to return to the seat of government, I have detained him no longer than was necessary to a full communication upon the several points he had in charge.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

G. WASHINGTON.

HOMAGE

Offered to the memory of Washington *by the Society of Felix Megitis, at Amsterdam, in Holland, March* 22, 1800.

"AMIDST the homage in Europe, paid to the memory of the illustrious *Washington*, that by the society, known by the name of *Felix Meritis* (an association of friends to the arts and sciences, established in this city) holds a distinguished rank." The following are the most prominent traits:

On Friday, the 22d of March, this respectable society, paid its tribute of respect to the manes of that venerable man, by a funeral ceremonial, accompanied with the most expressive emblems of respect and affliction.

At the bottom of the hall stood a tomb in the form of an obelisk, with the bust of *Washington*, on one side the emblem of the society crowned him with laurels; on the opposite, the genius of humanity in tears, bewailing his loss; in front of the monument was seen the following inscription: "*This society honours the merits of so great a man, whose death humanity deplores.*"

The majestic ceremony commenced by a discourse delivered by Mr. I. Kinder, a celebrated advocate of this city, introductory to the funeral ceremonial; this was followed by a solemn hymn, composed by R. I. Vilenbrack, and set to plaintive music, adapted to the melancholy occasion, by Mr. B. Ruloffs—after which Mr. Kinker pronounced an elegy, replete with sentiments worthy of the subject, and with that eloquent sensibility that did equal honour to the hero and legislator, the object thereof, and to its learned author. All the Americans present in the city attended on the occasion. The ceremonial terminated by an analogous discourse, delivered by Mr. Bourne, consul general of the United States of America, in the following terms:—

Citizens of the American nation present, it is with emotions of the most lively sensibility, that I have been witness to the distinguished marks of homage that this respectable society have paid the great, the illustrious *Washington*, the model of patriotism, the father of his country, and the ornament of his age. If America alone can boast of having given birth to him, other nations are jealous of the glory of rendering to him the

eulogium due to his genius and talents, and to mingle their regrets with those of a grateful people, who so afflictingly lament his death. Such testimonials of regret speak the unfeigned language of the heart—the true eloquence of the soul.

Such is the noble triumph of virtue, and the sweet reward of a life devoted to the happiness of mankind—Such is the effect of that moral electricity, that it animates every liberal and enlightened mind, and gives new force to the bonds of social order, uniting, by a principle of fraternal sympathy, nations, that oceans would in vain divide. This solemn and august ceremony recalls to mind a series of events that will be dear to the citizens of the United States—they will see in it, a new and interesting token of friendship on the part of the Batavian nation, which can never be effaced as long as the name of *Washington* shall be remembered in America, and the eclat of his character admired in the world—And when the weeping cyprus that over-shades his venerable manes shall be reduced to dust, and when not a single vestige shall remain of the proud marble that now ornaments his tomb, he will still live in the affections of a generous and grateful people, and his memory will be cherished by every friend to freedom and virtue.

Penetrated by your attention on the occasion, as memorable in the annals of history, as afflicting to humanity, I offer you, in the name of my fellow-citizens, the tribute of our grateful acknowledgement and most ardent wishes for your happiness—May the termination of the eighteenth century, so fertile in important events, at once give peace to Europe, close the wounds of a long and destructive war, and again open to the Batavian nation those fruitful sources of commerce and general prosperity, which in the hands of an intelligent, industrious and moral people, exceed all calculation."

CHARACTER.

The following elegantly drawn character of General Washington, *was published in London, Jan.* 24, 1800.

THE melancholy account of the death of General *Washington*, was brought by a vessel from Baltimore, which has arrived off Dover.

General *Washington*, was, we believe, in his 68th year. The height of his person was about five feet eleven; his chest full; and his limbs, though rather slender, well shaped and muscular. His head was small, in which respect he resembled the make of a great number of his countrymen. His eyes were of a light grey colour; and, in proportion to the length of his face, his nose was long. Mr. Stewart, the eminent portrait painter, used to say, there were features in his face totally different from what he had ever observed in that of any other human being; the sockets of the eyes, for instance, were larger than what he ever met with before, and the upper part of his nose broader.—All his features, he observed, were indicative of the strongest passions; yet, like Socrates, his judgment and great self-command have always made him appear a man of a different cast in the eyes of the world. He always spoke with great diffidence, and sometimes hesitated for a word; but it was always to find one particularly well adapted to his meaning. His language was manly and expressive. At levee, his discourse with strangers turned principally upon the subject of America; and if they had been through any remarkable places, his conversation was free and particularly interesting, for he was intimately acquainted with every part of the country. He was much more open and free in his behaviour at levee than in private, and in the company of ladies still more so than when solely with men.

Few persons ever found themselves for the first time in the presence of General *Washington*, without being impressed with a certain degree of veneration and awe; nor did those emotions subside on a closer acquaintance; on the contrary, his person and deportment were such as rather tended to augment them. The hard service he had seen, the important and laborious offices he had filled, gave a kind of austerity to his countenance, and a reserve to his manners: yet he was the kindest husband, the most humane master, the steadiest friend.

The whole range of history does not present to our view a character upon which we can dwell with such entire and unmixed admiration. The long life of General *Washington* is not stained by a single blot. He was indeed a man of such rare endowments, and such fortunate temperament, that every action he performed was equally exempted from the charge of vice or weakness.—Whatever he said or did, or wrote, was stamped with a striking and peculiar propriety. His qualities were so

happily blended, and so nicely harmonised, that the result was a great and perfect whole. The powers of his mind, and the dispositions of his heart, were admirably suited to each other. It was the union of the most consummate prudence with the most perfect moderation. His views, though large and liberal, were never extravagant: his virtues, though comprehensive and beneficent, were discriminating, judicious and practical.

Yet his character, though regular and uniform, possessed none of the littleness which may sometimes belong to these descriptions of men. It formed a majestic pile, the effect of which was not impaired, but improved by order and symmetry. There was nothing in it to dazzle by wildness, and surprise by eccentricity. It was of a higher species of moral beauty. It contained every thing great and elevated, but it had no false and tinsel ornament. It was not the model cried by the fashion and circumstance: its excellence was adapted to the true and just moral taste, incapable of change from the varying accidents of manners, of opinions and times.—General *Washington* is not the idol of a day, but the hero of ages!

Placed in circumstances of the most trying difficulty at the commencement of the American contest, he accepted that situation which was pre-eminent in danger and responsibility. His perseverance overcame every obstacle; his moderation conciliated every opposition; his genius supplied every resource; his enlarged view could plan, revise, and improve every branch of civil and military operation. He had the superior courage which can act or forbear to act, as true policy dictates, careless of the reproaches of ignorance either in power or out of power. Be knew how to conquer by waiting, in spite of obloquy, for the moment of victory; and he merited true praise by despising undeserved censure. In the most arduous moments of the contest, his prudent firmness proved the salvation of the cause which he supported.

His conduct was, on all occasions, guided by the most pure disinterestedness. Far superior to low and groveling motives, his seemed even to be uninfluenced by that ambition, which has justly been called the instinct of great souls. He acted ever as if his country's welfare, and that alone, was the moving spring. His excellent mind needed not even the stimulus of ambition, or the prospect of fame. Glory was but a secondary consideration. He performed great action, he persevered in a

course of laborious utility, with an equanimity that neither sought distinction, nor was flattered by it. His reward was in the consciousness of his own rectitude, and in the success of his patriotic efforts.

As his elevation to the chief power was the unbiassed choice of his countrymen, his exercise of it was agreeable to the purity of its origin. As he had neither solicited nor usurped dominion, he had neither to contend with the opposition of rivals, nor the revenge of enemies. As his authority was undisputed, so it required no jealous precautions, no rigorous severity. His government was mild and gentle; it was beneficent and liberal; it was wise and just. His prudent administration consolidated and enlarged the dominion of an infant republic. In voluntarily resigning the magistracy which he had filled with such distinguished honour, he enjoyed the unequalled satisfaction of leaving to the state he had contributed to establish, the fruits of his wisdom and the example of his virtues.

It is some consolation, amidst the violence of ambition and the criminal thirst of power, of which so many instances occur around us, to find a character whom it is honourable to admire, and virtuous to imitate. A conqueror, for the freedom of his country! A legislator for its security! A magistrate, for its happiness! His glories were never sullied by those excesses into which the highest qualities are apt to degenerate. With the greatest virtues he was exempt from the corresponding vices. He was a man in whom the elements were so mixed that "Nature might have stood up to all the world" and owned him as her work. His fame, bounded by no country, will be confined to no age. The character of General *Washington*, which his cotemporaries regret and admire, will be transmitted to posterity; and the memory of his virtues, while patriotism and virtue are held sacred among men, will remain undiminished.

PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

By the Marques Chastelleux, on his introduction to General Washington, *at his head quarters in the revolutionary War.*

IT is not my intention to exaggerate; I wish only to express the impression General *Washington* has left on my mind—the idea of a perfect whole, which can-

not be the product of enthusiasm, which rather would reject it, since the effect of proportion is to diminish the idea of greatness.

Brave without temerity—laborious without ambition—generous without prodigality—noble without pride—virtuous without severity—he seems always to have confined himself within those limits, where the virtues, by clothing themselves in more lively, but more changeable and doubtful colours, may be mistaken for faults.—This is the seventh year that he has commanded the army and that he has obeyed the Congress. More need not be said, especially in America, where they know how to appreciate all the merit contained in this simple act. Let it be repeated that Conde was intrepid, Turenne prudent, Eugene adroit, and Catinet disinterested. It is not thus that *Washington* will be characterised. It will be said of him, at the end of a long civil war, he had nothing with which he could reproach himself. If any thing can be more marvellous than such a character, it is the unanimity of the public suffrages in his favour. Soldier, magistrate, people, all love and admire him; all speak of him in terms of tenderness and veneration. Does there then exist a virtue capable of restraining the injustice of mankind; or, are glory and happiness too recently established in America, for envy to have deigned to pass the seas?

In speaking of this perfect whole, of which General *Washington* furnishes the idea, I have not excluded exterior form. His stature is noble and lofty; he is well made and exactly proportioned; his physiognomy mild and agreeable, but such as renders it impossible to speak particularly of any of his features, so that in quitting him, you have only the recollection of a fine face. He has neither a grave nor a familiar air; his brow is sometimes marked with thought, but never with inquietude. Inspiring respect, he inspires confidence, and his smile is always the smile of benevolence.

EXTRACT.

An extract from a periodical publication, entitled the "Miscellanist," written in Dublin, by W. P. Cary.

ABOVE the cruel views of a conqueror, who, actuated by the lust of fame, shuts his ears to the supplications of piety, and hardening his heart for the work of

devastation, wars to establish a shining infamy, by the destruction of his fellow-creatures, on the smoking ruins of desolated kingdoms, the great *Washington* fought to befriend and save mankind, in defence of whatever is most dear to the generous breast of enlightened patriotism. Distinguished, in an eminent degree, for the great qualities of the Macedonian and Swedish heroes, yet unsullied by the savage cruelty and intemperance of the one, or mad ambition and obstinacy of the other, he possessed the rare gift of uniting all the sublime talents requisite in the founder of a mighty empire, with the polished refinements of civilized society, and the softest feelings of humanity. A stranger to profusion, yet generous in every instance where liberality was a virtue; during the late troubles, his fortune was employed in succouring merit, rewarding bravery, promoting discipline in the soldiery, and subordination to the new established government, in the citizens. At a time when the calamities incident to a state of civil warfare fell heavy on all ranks, but principally on the middle class of his countrymen, his beneficence, which seemed to shun the public eye, would in all probability be lost in oblivion, but for the voice of those whom he freed from the accumulated miseries of famine, sickness, and imprisonment. Many of his good deeds are passed over by the writers of his time, amidst the striking details of battles, of sieges, and military manœuvres, with which the general curiosity is often more pleased, than with the less glaring portrait of private virtue. Born with abilities to unite the jarring interests of a number of states, and be the leader of a brave and injured people, nature has not been less favourable to him in corporal than in mental endowments. His person is majestic and striking, his physiognomy is pre-possessing, and strongly expressive of the noble qualities of his soul: the dignity of his appearance inspires an awe, which keeps the unacquainted beholder at a respectful distance, until the easy politeness of his manner, formed to gain the affections without artifice, and the modest frankness of his conversation, fraught with judicious reflexions, founded on a thorough knowledge of human nature, insensibly banish the coldness of reserve, and induce the philosopher, the soldier, and polished gentleman, to quit his company with regret, filled with sentiments of enthusiastic reverence and admiration.

Having pursued the blessings of peace through the horrors of war, he forced an eulogium on his conduct,

from the mouths of his enemies; and, on the ruins of British tyranny, founded the immortal fabric of his country's independence; leaving this salutary monition to all ruling powers, never in the exulting moment of national prosperity, to force an injured people from their allegiance, by forgetting that the protection of the community was the primary cause of the election of individuals to the delegated sceptre of majesty. The fatal effects which England has justly felt from her own disgraceful and oppressive schemes against America, should serve as a caution to prevent all statesmen from pursuing the narrow policy and base purposes of illiberal faction: it should instruct them never to sacrifice the interests of one body of subjects to the unjust aggrandizement of another; but equally to extend the benefits of a wise and wholesome legislation to all parts of the empire; as a contrary conduct will inevitably return the blow aimed at the rights of society, in tenfold ruin, on the guilty oppressors, by weakening the state with jealousies and civil dissentions, which will leave it an easy prey to a foreign enemy, or insensibly dismember and finally subvert the established government.

Having equalled the greatest heroes of antiquity in glory, the illustrious *Washington* surpassed them in virtue and exemplary moderation; when his fellow-soldiers laid aside the sword to add lustre to the arts—to cultivate their native fields, and to enrich the United States, by a beneficial commerce—when the childless father, the lone orphan, and the widowed mourner, restored to the bosom of peace, and the blessings of plenty, forgot their sorrows, and ceased to weep over the manes of their slaughtered relations—the American hero resigned his command; he refused the liberal rewards offered him by his grateful country; he was contented with the just approbation of a virtuous conscience, and quitting the splendid honours of a public life, he retired to the station of a private citizen.

In whatever light we view the character of this truly great man, we are struck with fresh cause for esteem and admiration; we every moment discover new and shining traits of humanity, of wisdom, and disinterested heroism: we see united in him the distinguished virtues of a good citizen, and experienced general, an upright senator, and a wise politician; we behold him rising superior to every mean consideration of self-love, hazarding his fortune in the cause of freedom, cheerfully submitting to bear the name of rebel, and braving all

ignominious death, to which he would inevitably have fallen a sacrifice had Britain triumphed in the contest; we behold him furnishing an example the most glorious to the world, the most animating to the nations which yet groan beneath the arm of oppression, an example the most interesting to humanity, and capable of nerving the palsied arm of age, or even of cowardice itself; we behold him like another Aaron, the sacred delegate from Heaven, leading to the field a brave but ill appointed and new raised army, to contend with the ablest generals and best disciplined troops of the mightiest empire in the universe; we behold him often without money, and ill supplied with provisions, braving the accumulated severities of an American winter's campaign, inuring his soldiers to fatigue, and training them by the practice of military evolutions, to defeat the attacks of a powerful enemy; we view him stedfastly pursuing the great line of conduct which he had marked out at the commencement of hostilities, mitigating the calamities of war, preventing the effusion of human blood, wasting the forces of his adversaries, tiring out the British nation by avoiding a decisive action; and finally triumphing over every obstacle which seemed insurmountably to oppose the progress of his arms, and the freedom of his country. The rash and unthinking, who estimate a commander by the multitudes whom he has destroyed, by the cities which he has sacked, and the provinces which he has desolated, may choose some ferocious conqueror for the idol of their reverence. The philanthropist, who laments the miseries which fall on mankind by the usurpation and ambition of kings, and the philosopher, who judges of the abilities of a general by the tenor of his plans; and their consistence with his situation and resources, will not hesitate to pronounce the *Great Washington* equal, if not superior to the most shining characters in ancient or modern history.

DOCTOR ELISHA CULL DICK'S

ORATION

ON WASHINGTON'S DEATH.

IN attempting to execute the part assigned me by your committee, on this sorrowful occasion, I rise with a confidence in your indulgence, upon which I rest an

only hope, that my humble efforts may be found in any degree commensurate with your most moderate expectations.

The people of America are this day assembled in multitudes, to mingle in grief, and to express to the world in one united voice, the cause of their afflictions: to cherish the recollection of departed worth; and to evince to distant nations, that they are grateful to a benefactor.

If there be an animating thought, while yet the tear of sorrow hangs upon the cheek, may it not be drawn from an imaginary view of that most interesting picture, which America would at this moment exhibit, were it possible to be comprised within the scope of vision?

Four millions of the human race, free in their thoughts and affections—unrestrained in their actions, widely dispersed over an extensive portion of the habitable globe, are seen devoted to a single purpose;—A people detached by local causes—actuated in common life by opposite views, or rivals in the pursuit of similar objects;—jealous in all other matters of general concern—are offering the tribute of affection to the memory of their common friend. In vain shall we examine the records of antiquity for its parallel. Worth so transcendent as to merit universal homage, with a correspondent desire to bestow it, mark an event in the history of our country, that may be considered as a phenomenon the annals of man.

The institution of games, the denomination of cities and empires, the erection of monuments of marble and bronze, have severally served to perpetuate the memory of illustrious characters; but how often may the parentage of their celebrity be traced to either a single accident, or to a fortuitous combination of circumstances. To which of the Sages, Patriots, or Heroes of past ages, shall we recur for an example of that uncommon assemblage of virtues and talents that were blended in the character of our beloved *Washington*? Be it the privilege of posterity, when it shall desire to honour unusual merit, by comparative commendation, to employ his name as a term of superlative applause; but let us no longer mutilate his well earned fame, by looking back to antiquity for his model. His early manifestation of extraordinary capacity—his uniform preference of the public good to private enjoyment—his unwearied labours in the service of his country, for upwards of forty years, deservedly place him on the highest point of Human exaltation.

Pre-eminence in social life, is more frequently the effect of exertion than of unusual talents; and most men might have been wiser and better than they are, had improvement at all times been their fixed purpose: but the individual whom a beneficent Providence selected, as his favourite instrument to dispense the blessings of politicial life and liberty to his country, seemed peculiarly fitted for that resplendent commission, by the munificent hand of nature. Presages of his future eminence were to be drawn from his earliest life. While yet at school, his deportment was such as to procure him the confidence and respect of his young companions: He was the common arbiter of their juvenile disputations, and his decisions were conclusive and satisfactory.

Possessing a mind peculiarly collected in its structure, elevated in its views, and firm in its purposes, he saw at once the importance of intellectual ascendency, and soon acquired the absolute dominion of himself.—Endowments so rare and inestimable drew him early into general view, and attracted the notice of the constituted authorities. At the age of twenty one years. bearing a major's commission in the provincial forces, he is selected by the Colonial executive of Virginia, for the performance of a critical and momentous embassy to the French commander on the Ohio. He engages in the perilous and responsible enterprize. Undaunted by the chill blasts of winter—undismayed by a view of the pathless wild that lay before him, he takes his departure from Williamsburg, and moves on with unshaken purpose to his point of destination. Having produced his credentials and remonstrated ineffectually against the incursions of the French, we see him on his return, environed by imminent and complicated dangers, from which the providential hand of Heaven alone can extricate him. He has already escaped the murderously meditated volley of the savage in ambush—he is now contending with the elements. Embarked with his few attendants on a hastily constructed raft, the impetuosity of the torrent, with assailing bodies of ice, bear him along their turbulent course, and threaten inevitable destruction. The youthful hero, opposing his utmost strength to the wayward current, is plunged into its icy bosom. For a moment he is invisible, and his diconsolate companions deplore the loss of their leader; —but he rises again, and buffeting the angry surface of the flood, recovers the raft, which is arrested in its progress by an insulated cluster of rocks. The night

approaches and patiently to wait the return of day is a point of necessity. Disconsolate and drear the abode, but more terrible the surrounding prospect. The intense severity of the weather in recompense for his sufferings presented in the morning an animating spectacle. The ice locked and firm, enables him to proceed in safety to the destined shore, and he pursues without further impediment his homeward way.

The extraordinary capacity, first exemplified in the prosecution of this inaugural mission, was afterwards more amply displayed on the banks of Monongahela.—On that occasion, the several important properties essential to military command, were manifested in the preservation of the remnant of a vanquished army. A youth untutored in the schools of war—by the peculiar strength and ingenuity of his own mind, effected an atchievement, that would have given additional lustre to the fame of a distinguished veteran.

An eventful page in the book of fate, was yet undisclosed. An era approached when the hero of Monongahela, was to be introduced to an admiring world;—A memorable epoch, that was at once to give existence to one of the most extensive empires on earth, and to stamp a brilliant immortality on the individual, who was chosen by Heaven to execute its mighty mandate. The American colonies, the legitimate offspring of Britain, feel the hand that should foster, become oppressive and severe. They venture but affectionately to complain.—The parent rebukes, urges submission, imposes with augmented rigour and threatens coersions. Petitions and respectful expostulations are tried ineffectually. In pacific, but in more dignified terms, they now remonstrate.—They appeal to reason, to justice and truth. Parental displeasure is kindling into wrath and revenge. They view at a distance the gathering storm and prepare to encounter it. Dreadful the impending conflict and incalculable the issue; but the price of victory is inestimable. A sense of common injury, common danger, and common interest, inspire union and energy. They recollect their little army, untried, undisciplined. In the hands of their beloved *Washington*, they at the same moment deposit the chief command and their hopes of success.—Pledged to himself, his fellow citizens and to his God, he accepts the sacred trust, and determines to give liberty to his country, or perish in the enterprize. Thus prepared and thus headed, making a solemn appeal to the inhabitants of the earth,

they implore the Almighty aid, and enter upon the unequal and terrible combat.

It is unnecessary to our present purpose to trace minutely the chain of succeeding incidents. The issue at once gave birth to our wide spreading empire, and crowned the hero with wreaths of immortal glory. Gazing nations passing in wonder from the magnificent work to its author, are unsettled as to their chief point of admiration; while Columbia, glowing with celestial rapture, greets with boundless gratitude and affection her favourite Son.

The Saviour of his country, disbanding his martial ranks, tenders his sage advice to his fellow citizens, bestows a benediction on his companions in arms, and retires to the calm retreat of private life.

Smiling peace resumes her gentle reign. Agriculture and commerce, reviving from their bed of anguish, lead on in triumph to the altar of liberty, their long train of national blessings. A plan for the preservation of the altar, and the equitable distribution of its blessings, requires the aid of the aggregate wisdom of the United States. Amidst this brilliant assemblage, this constellation of eplightened minds, the father of his people again appears and shines supremely refulgent. Restraining by his harmonizing presence, the discordant operation of social interests, tempering the ardour of discussion, and holding up to view the balance of relative rights, he saw their united labours terminate in the production of a system of general government, which, receiving the sanction of his approbation, became the palladium of the national independence.

Once more, in obedience to the united suffrage of his country, he forgoes the enjoyment of domestic scenes, and accepts the superintendency of the great and mighty concerns of the empire. Events arise in the course of his administration that call forth fresh demonstrations of his superior wisdom.

The existing relations between America and the two great contending nations of Europe, necessarily placed the former in a situation peculiarly hazardous and embarrassing. Devotees in the cause of republicanism, it was impossible for its citizens to become unconcerned spectators of the eventful contest. Lively impressions of gratitude still remained for the magnanimous succours formerly received from one of the powers, which naturally inspired a warm interest in the issue of the war, and had a strong tendency to draw them ultimately

within its destructive vortex. But the vigilant guardian of his country's safety, by basing his position on the broad and commanding ground of neutrality, most effectually secured our peace, our honour, and our independence.

After eight successive years, in the autumn of his life, exclusively devoted to the national interest, he is permitted to repose a while his venerable head on the pillow of domestic ease; and but a little while is his repose free from interruption. The establishment of a military force is deemed necessaay for the public safety, and the laureled veteren is solicited, and agrees to take the provisional command. But the fleeting and variegated scenes of his probationary existence were drawing to a close. The inauspicious gloom which had excited the apprehension of America, having, in a great measure, disappeared—*the soul of this great and good man took its final departure to the mansions of eternal rest.*

To his survivours, in the unexampled tenor of his actions, he has bequeathed a legacy of inestimable value. In the walks of private life, he was no less exemplary than in the more conspicuous scenes of public employment. His private friendship terminated only with his latest breath. Modest and unassuming, yet dignified in his manners—accessable and communicative; yet superior to familiarity, he inspired and preserved the love and respect of all who knew him. For the promotion of all public and useful undertakings, he was singularly munificent. The indigent and distressed, were at all times subjects of his sympathy and concern. His charity flowed in quiet but constant streams, from a fountain that was at no time suffered to sustain the smallest diminution. No pursuit or avocation, however momentous, was permitted to interrupt his systematic attention to the children of want. His anxious solicitude on this score is pathetically exemplified in a letter written in 1775, at a time when the unorganized state of the army might have demanded his exclusive concern. Addressing himself to the late Lund Washington, he writes—"Let the hospitality of the house be kept with "respect to the poor. Let no one go away hungry. If "any of this kind of people should be in want of corn, "supply their necessities, provided it does not encour- "age them in idleness. I have no objection to your giv- "ing my money in charity, when you think it will be "well bestowed. I mean that it is my desire, that it "should be done. You are to consider that neither

"myself nor my wife are now in the way to do these "good offices."

Such, my fellow citizens, was the man whose memory we have assembled to honour. It has been your peculiar felicity often to have seen him on the footing of social intimacy. That the inhabitants of Alexandria, held a distinguished place in his affection, you have had repeated testimony. You have seen his sensibility awakened, on occasions calculated to call forth a display of his partiality. The last time we met to offer our salutations, and express our inviolable attachment to the venerable sage, on his retiring from the chief Magistracy of the Union, you may remember that in telling you how peculiarly grateful were your expressions, the visible emotions of his great soul, had almost deprived him of the power of utterance.

But Heaven has reclaimed its treasure, and America has lost its first of patriots and best of men—its shield in war; in peace its brightest ornament, the avenger of its wrongs, the oracle of its wisdom and the mirror of its perfection. His fair fame, secure in its immortality, shall shine through countless ages with undiminished lustre. It shall be the stateman's polar-star; the hero's destiny; the boast of age; the companion of maturity, and the gaol of youth. It shall be the last national office of hoary dotage, to teach the infant that hangs on his trembling knee, to lisp the name of *Washington*!

ODE ON THE

DEATH OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

LET nobler bards attempt in nobler lays
To blazen forth the pomp of Roman days,
And court the servile muse of war, that sings
The pride of tyrants and caprice of kings;
Be mine a *hero*, later scenes can yield—
Renown'd as in the council as the field.
Be *Washington* my theme—the patriot bold.
Lov'd by the *new* world—honour'd by the old—
Dear to the brave, to freedom ever dear,
Whom *youth* could learn to love, and *age* revere;
And thou, creative muse, of heavenly throng,
Thro' time's deforming scenes the strain prolong,
And, as my theme immortal, immortal make my song.

Say, thou bright genius of the western world,
When proud oppression's darts were round thee hurl'd;
How would thy gen'rous spirit have been spurn'd,
Thy sons have fallen, and thy cities burn'd,
Had not a *Washington* divine appear'd,
And on thy plains the flag of freedom rear'd;
Cherish'd the sacred flame thy cause had fir'd,
That ev'ry arm and ev'ry heart inspir'd;
Snatch'd thy broad empire from oppressive woes,
Burst thy foul chains, and bound them on thy foes;
And in thy sorrows made thy virtues known,
Which time has sanction'd and which fame has blown,
And rais'd thy martial prowess, immortal as his own.

See him retir'd on *Vernon's* peaceful plains,
Where nature triumphs and where virtue reigns;
Resign'd the state and city's jarring noise,
For sacred silence and secluded joys;
A wreath that Ceres twin'd adorn'd his brow,
He wields the sickle and directs the plough.
Here, 'midst domestic cares he liv'd, and here
Receives his summons to a higher sphere;
Here faith attends him with unmoisten'd eye,
Before whose wand suspicion's vapours fly;
Religion at his side, with form resign'd,
Clos'd his bright eye, and bore his lab'ring mind
To happiness unclouded, to prospects unconfin'd

And now, what time the sun's declining ray
Tipt the tall spire with gold; in sad array
The mournful group the *hero* bears along;
While drown'd in tears the sad surrounding throng,
Weeping that worth they ne'er may see again,
Pay their last tribute to the first of men.
Night from the east, as conscious of their woe,
With sable curtain shrouds the scene below;
While Philomela on the lonely spray,
Hails the dread silence with her saddest lay;
Yet shall the rosy morn the spot illume,
And ever round the hero's deathless tomb,
Shall earliest songsters sing, and choicest flowers bloom.

CIVIS.

Wolverhamton.

EULOGY ON WASHINGTON.

Delivered, at the request of the Legislature of Massachusetts, Feb. 8, 1800.

IT is natural that the gratitude of mankind should be drawn to their benefactors. A number of these have successively arisen, who were no less distinguished for the elevation of their virtues, than the lustre of their talents. Of those, however, who were born, and who acted, through life, as if they were born, not for themselves, but for their country and the whole human race, how few, alas! are recorded in the long annals of ages, and how wide the intervals of time and space that divide them In all this dreary length of way, they appear like five or six light houses on as many thousand miles of coast: they gleam upon the surrounding darkness, with an inextinguishable splendour, like stars seen through a mist; but they are seen like stars, to cheer, to guide, and to save. Washington is now added to that small number. Already he attracts curiosity, like a newly discovered star, whose benignant light will travel on to the world's and time's farthest bounds. Already his name is hung up by history as conspicuously, as if it sparkled in one of the constellations of the sky.

By commemorating his death, we are called this day to yield the homage that is due to virtue; to confess the common debt of mankind as well as our own; and to pronounce for posterity, now dumb, that eulogium, which they will delight to echo ten ages hence, when we are dumb.

I consider myself not merely in the midst of the citizens of this town, or even of this state. In idea, I gather round me the nation. In the vast and venerable congregation of the patriots of all countries and of all enlightened men, I would if I could, raise my voice, and speak to mankind in a strain worthy of my audience, and as elevated as my subject. But you have assigned me a task that is impossible.

O if I could perform it, if I could illustrate his principles in my discourse as he displayed them in his life, if I could paint his virtues as he practised them, if I could convert the fervid enthusiasm of my heart into the talent to transmit his fame, as it ought to pass, to posterity, I should be the successful organ of your will, the minister of his virtues, and may I dare to say, the

humble partaker of his immortal glory. These are ambitious deceiving hopes, and I reject them; for it is perhaps, almost as difficult, at once with judgment and feeling, to praise great actions, as to perform them. A lavish and undistinguishing elogium is not praise; and to discriminate such excellent qualities as were characteristic and peculiar to him, would be to raise a name, as he raised it above envy, above parallel, perhaps for that very reason, above emulation.

Such a portraying of character, however, must be addressed to the understanding, and, therefore, even if it were well executed, would seem to be rather an analysis of moral principles, than the recital of a hero's exploits.

With whatever fidelity I might execute this task, I know that some would prefer a picture drawn to the imagination. They would have our Washington represented of a giant's size, and in the character of a hero of Romance. They who love to wonder better than to reason, would not be satisfied with the contemplation of a great example, unless in the exhibition, it should be so distorted into prodigy, as to be both incredible and useless. Others, I hope but few, who think meanly of human nature, will deem it incredible, that even Washington should think with as much dignity and elevation as he acted; and they will grovel in vain in the search for mean and selfish motives, that could incite and sustain him to devote his life to his country.

Do not these suggestions sound in your ears like a profonation of virtue? and while I pronounce them, do you not feel a thrill of indignation at your hearts? Forbear. Time never fails to bring every exalted reputation to a strict scrutiny: the world, in passing the judgment that is never to be reversed, will deny all partiality even to the name of Washington. Let it be denied for its justice will confer glory.

Such a life as Washington's cannot derive honour from the circumstances of birth and education, though it throws back a lustre upon both. With an inquisitive mind, that always profited by the lights of others, and was unclouded by passions of its own, he acquired a maturity of judgment, rare in age unparralled in youth. Perhaps no young man had so early laid up a life's stock of materials for solid reflection, or settled so soon the principles and habits of his conduct. Gray experience listened to his counsels with respect, and at a

time when youth is almost privileged to be rash, Virginia committed the safety of her frontier, and ultimately, the safety of America. not merely to his valour, for that would be scarcely praise, but to his prudence.

It is not in Indian wars that heroes are celebrated; but it is there they are formed. No enemy can be more formidable, by the craft of his ambushes, the suddeness of his onset, or the ferocity of hit vengeance. The soul of Washington was thus exercised to danger; and on the first trial, as on every other, it appeared firm in adversity, cool in action, undaunted, self-possessed. His spirit, and still more his prudence, on the occasion of Braddock's defeat, diffused his name throughout America, and across the Atlantic. Even then his country viewed him with complacency, as her most hopeful son

At the peace of 1763, Great Britian in consequence of her victories, stood in a position to prescribe her own terms. She chose, perhaps, better for us than for herself: for by expelling the French from Canada, we no longer feared hostile neighbours; and we soon found just cause to be afraid of our protectors. We discerned, even then, a truth, which the conduct of France has since so strongly confirmed, that there is nothing which the gratitude of weak states can give that will satisfy strong allies for their aid, but authority: nations that want protectors, will have masters. Our settlements, no longer checked by enemies on the frontier, rapidly increased; and it was discovered, that America was growing to a size that could defend itself.

In this, perhaps unforeseen, but at length obvious state of things, the British Government concieved a jealousy of the colonies, of which, and of their intended measures of precaution they made no secret.

Our nation, like its great leader. had only to take counsel from its courage. When Washington heard the voice of his country in distress, his obedience was prompt; and though his sacrifices were great, they cost him no effort. Neither the object, nor the limits of my plan, permit me to dilate on the military events of the revolutionary war. Our history is but a transcript of his claims on our gratitude: our hearts bear testimony, that they are claims not to be satisfied. When overmatched by numbers, a fugitive with a little band of faithful soldiers, the states as much exhausted as dismayed, he explored his own undaunted heart, and found there resources to retreive our affairs. We have

seen him display as much valour as gives fame to heroes and as consummate prudence as ensures success to valour; fearless of dangers that were personal to him, hesitating and cautious, when they affected his country preferring fame before safety or repose, and duty before fame.

Rome did not owe more to Fabius than America to Washington. Our nation shares with him the singular glory of having conducted a civil war with mildness, and a revolution with order.

The event of that war seemed to crown the felicity and glory both of America and its chief. Until that contest, a great part of the civilized world had been surprisingly ignorant of the force and character, and almost of the existence, of the British colonies. They had not retained what they knew, nor felt curiosity to know the state of thirteen wretched settlements, which vast woods enclosed, and still vaster woods divided from each other. They did not view the colonists so much as a people, as a race of fugitives whom want, and solitude, and intermixture with the savages, had made barbarians.

At this time, while Great Britian wielded a force truly formidable to the most powerful states, suddenly astonished, Europe beheld a feeble people, till then, unknown, stand forth, and defy this giant to the combat. It was so unequal, all expected it would be short. Our final success exalted their admiration to its highest point; they allowed to Washington all that is due to tranceendent virtue, and to the Americans more than is due to human nature. They considered us a race of Washingtons, and admitted that nature in America was fruitful only in prodigies. Their books and their travellers, exaggerating and distorting all their representations, assisted to establish the opinion, that this is a new world, with a new order of men and things adapted to it; that here we practise industry, amidst the abundance that requires none; that we have morals so refined, that we need no laws; and though we have them, yet we ought to consider their execution as an insult and a wrong; that we have virtue without weaknesses, sentiment without passions, and liberty without factions. These illusions, in spite of their absurdity, and, perhaps, because they are absurd enough to have dominion over the imagination only, have been received by many of the malecontents against the governments of Europe, and induced them to emigrate. Such illusions are too soothing to vanity.

to be entirely checked in their currency among Americans.

They have been pernicious, as they cherish false ideas of the rights of men and the duties of rulers. They have led the citizens to look for liberty where it is not; and to consider the government, which is its castle, as its prison.

Washington retired to Mount Vernon, and the eyes of the world followed him. He left his countrymen to their simplicity and their passions, and their glory soon departed. Europe began to be undeceived, and it seemed, for a time, as if, by the acquisition of independence, our citizens were disappointed. The confederation was then the only compact made "to form a perfect union of the states, to establish justice, to ensure the tranquility, and provide for the security of the nation;" and accordingly union was a name that still commanded reverence, though not obedience. The system called justice was, in some of the states, iniquity reduced to elementary principles; and the public tranquility was such a portentous calm, as rings in deep caverns before the explosion of an earthquake. Most of the states then were in fact, though not in form, unbalanced democracies. Reason, it is true, spoke audibly in their constitutions; passion and prejudice louder in their laws It is to the honour of Massachusetts, that it is chargeable with little deviation from principles: its adherence to them was one of the causes of a dangerous rebellion. It was scarcely possible that such governments should not be agitated by parties, and that prevailing parties should not be vindictive and unjust. Accordingly, in some of the states, creditors were treated as outlaws; bankrupts were armed with legal authority to be persecutors; and, by the shock of all confidence and faith, society was shaken to its foundations. Liberty we had, but we dreaded its abuse almost as much as its loss; and the wise, who deplored the one, clearly foresaw the other.

The peace of America hung by a thread, and factions were already sharpening their weapons to cut it. The project of three separate empires in America was beginnnig to be broached, and the progress of licentiousness would have soon rendered her citizens unfit for liberty in either of them. An age of blood and misery would have punished our disunion: but these were not the considerations to deter ambition from its purpose,

while there were so many circumstances in our political situation to favour it.

At this awful crisis, which all the wise so much dreaded at the time, yet which appears, on a retrospect, so much more dreadful than their fears; some man was wanting who possessed a commanding power over the popular passions, but over whom those passions had no power. That man was *Washington*.

His name, at the head of such a list of worthies as would reflect honour on any country, had its proper weight with all the enlightened, and with almost all the well disposed among the less informed citizens, and, blessed be God! the constitution was adopted. Yes, to the eternal honour of America among the nations of the earth, it was adopted, in spite of the obstacles, which, in any other country, and, perhaps, in any other age of *this*, would have been insurmountable; in spite of the doubts and fears, which well-meaning prejudice creates for itself, and which party so artfully inflames into stubbornness; in spite of the vice, which it has subjected to restraint, and which is therefore its immortal and implacable foe; in spite of the oligarchies in some of the states, from whom it snatched dominion; it was adopted, and our country enjoys one more invaluable chance for its union and happiness: invaluable! if the retrospect of the dangers we have escaped shall sufficiently inculcate the principles we have so tardily established. Perhaps multitudes are not to be taught by their fears only, without suffering much to deepen the impression; for experience brandishes in her school a whip of scorpions, and teaches nations her summary lessons of wisdom by the scars and wounds of their adversity.

The amendments which have been projected in some of the states shew, that, in them at least, these lessons are not well remembered. In a confederacy of states, some powerful, others, weak, the weakness of the federal union will, sooner or later, encourage, and will not restrain, the ambition and injustice of the members: the weak can no otherwise be strong or safe, but in the energy of the national government. It is this defect, which the blind jealousy of the weak states not unfrequently contributes to prolong, that has proved fatal to all the confederations that ever existed.

Although it was impossible that such merit as *Washington's* should not produce envy, it was scarcely possible that, with such a transcendent reputation, he should

have rivals. Accordingly, he was unanimously chosen president of the United States.

As a general and a patriot, the measure of his glory was already full: there was no fame left for him to excel but his own; and even that task, the mightiest of all his labours, his civil magistrary has accomplished.

No sooner did the new government begin its auspicious course, than order seemed to arise out of confusion. Commerce and industry awoke, and were cheerful at their labours; for credit and confidence awoke with them. Every where was the appearance of prosperity; and the only fear was, that its progress was too rapid to consist with the purity and simplicity of ancient manners. The cares and labours of the president were incessant: his exhortations, example, and authority, were employed to excite zeal and activity for the public service: able officers were selected, only for their merits; and some of them remarkably distinguished themselves by their successful management of the public business. Government was administered with such integrity, without mystery, and in so prosperous a course, that it seemed to be wholly employed in acts of beneficence. Though it has made many thousand malecontents, it has never, by its rigour or injustice, made one man wretched.

Such was the state of public affairs: and did it not seem perfectly to ensure uninterrupted harmony to the citizens? Did they not, in respect to their government and its administration, possess their whole heart's desire? They had seen and suffered long the want of an efficient constitution; they had freely ratified it; they saw *Washington*, their tried friend, the father of his country, invested with its powers; they knew that he could not exceed or betray them, without forfeiting his own reputation. Consider, for a moment, what a reputation it was: such as no man ever before possessed by so clear a title, and in so high a degree. His fame seemed in its purity to exceed even its brightness: office took honour from his acceptance, but conferred none. Ambition stood awed and darkened by his shadow. For where, through the wide earth, was the man so vain as to dispute precedence with him; or what were the honours that could make the possessor *Washington's* superior? Refined and complex as the ideas of virtue are, even the gross could discern in his life the infinite superiority of her rewards. Mankind perceived some change in their ideas of greatness: the

splendour of power, and even of the name of conqueror, had grown dim in their eyes. They did not know that *Washington* could augment his fame; but they knew and felt, that the world's wealth, and its empire too, would be a bribe far beneath his acceptance.

This is not exaggeration: never was confidence in a man and a chief magistrate more widely diffused, or more solidly established.

If it had been in the nature of man, that we should enjoy liberty, without the agitations of party, the United States had a right, under these circumstances, to expect it: but it was impossible. Where there is no liberty, they may be exempt from party. It will seem strange, but it scarcely admits a doubt, that there are fewer malecontents in Turkey, than in any free state in the world. Where the people have no power, they enter into no contests, and are not anxious to know how they shall use it. The spirit of discontent becomes torpid for want of employment, and sighs itself to rest. The people sleep soundly in their chains, and do not even dream of their weight. They lose their turbulence with their energy, and become as tractable as any other animal: a state of degradation, in which they extort our scorn, and engage our pity, for the misery they do not feel. Yet that heart is a base one, and fit only for a slave's bosom, that would not bleed freely, rather than submit to such a condition; for liberty with all its parties and agitations is more desirable than slavery. Who would not prefer the republics of ancient Greece, where liberty once subsisted in its excess, its delirium, terrible in its charms, and glistening to the last with the blaze of the very fire that consumed it?

I do not know that I ought, but I am sure that I do, prefer those republics to the dozing slavery of the modern Greece, where the degraded wretches have suffered scorn till they merit it, where they tread on classic ground, on the ashes of heroes and patriots, unconscious of their ancestry, ignorant of the nature, and almost of the name of liberty, and insensible even to the passion for it. Who, on this contrast, can forbear to say, it is the modern Greece that lies buried, that sleeps forgotten in the caves of Turkish darkness? It it the ancient Greece that lives in remembrance, that is still bright with glory, still fresh in immortal youth. They are unworthy of liberty, who entertain a less exalted idea of its excellence. The misfortune is, that those who profess to be its most passionate admirers have,

generally, the least comprehension of its hazards and impediments: they expect, that an enthusiastic admiration of its nature will reconcile the multitude to the irksomeness of its restraints. Delusive expectation! *Washington* was not thus deluded. We have his solemn warning against the often fatal propensities of liberty. He had reflected, that men are often false to their country and their honour, false to duty and even to their interest, but multitudes of men are never long false or deaf to their passions: these will find obstacles in the laws, associates in party. The fellowships thus formed are more intimate, and impose commands more imperious, than those of society.

Thus party forms a state within the state, and is animated by a rivalship, fear, and hatred, of its superior. When this happens, the merits of the government will become fresh provocations and offences, for they are the merits of an enemy. No wonder then, that as soon as party found the virtue and glory of *Washington* were obstacles, the attempt was made, by calumny, to surmount them both. For this, the greatest of all trials, we know that he was prepared. He knew, that the government must possess sufficient strength from within or without, or fall a victim to faction. This *interior* strength was plainly inadequate to its defence, unless it could be reinforced from *without* by the zeal and patriotism of the citizens; and this latter resource was certainly as accessible to president *Washington*, as to any chief magistrate that ever lived. The life of the federal government, he considered, was in the breath of the people's nostrils: whenever they should happen to be so infatuated or inflamed as to abandon its defence, its end must be as speedy, and might be as tragical, as a constitution for France.

While the president was thus administering the government in so wise and just a manner, as to engage the great majority of the enlightened and virtuous citizens to co-operate with him for its support, and while he indulged the hope that time and habit were confirming their attachments, the French revolution had reached that point in its progress, when its terrible principles began to agitate all civilized nations. I will not, on this occasion, detain you to express, though my thoughts teem with it, my deep abhorrence of that revolution; its despotism, by the mob or the military, from the first, and its hypocrisy of morals to the last. Scenes have passed there which exceeded description,

and which, for other reasons, I will not attempt to describe; for it would not be possible, even at this distance of time, and with the sea between us and France, to go through with the recital of them, without perceiving horror gather, like a frost, about the heart, and almost stop its pulse. That revolution has been constant in nothing but its vicissitudes, and its promises; always delusive, but always renewed, to establish philosophy by crimes, and liberty by the sword. The people of France, if they are not like the modern Greeks, find their cap of liberty is a soldier's helmet: and with all their imitation of dictators and consuls, their exactest similitude to these Roman ornaments, is in their chains. The nations of Europe perceive another resemblance, in their all-conquering ambition.

But it is only the influence of that event on America, and on the measures of the president, that belongs to my subject. It would be ingratefully wrong to his character, to be silent in respect to a part of it, which has the most signally illustrated his virtues.

The genuine character of that revolution is not even yet so well understood, as the dictates of self-preservation require it should be. The chief duty and care of all governments is to protect the rights of property, and the tranquillity of society. The leaders of the French revolution, from the beginning, excited the poor against the rich. This has made the rich poor, but it will never make the poor rich. On the contrary, they were used only as blind instruments to make those leaders masters, first of the adverse party, and then of the state. Thus the powers of the state were turned round into a direction exactly contrary to the proper one, not to preserve tranquillity and restrain violence, but to excite violence by the lure of power, and plunder, and vengeance. Thus all France has been, and still is, as much the prize of the ruling party, as a captured ship, and if any right or possession has escaped confiscation, there is none that has not been liable to it.

Thus it clearly appears, that, in its origin, its character, and its means, the government of that country is revolutionary; that is, not only different from, but directly contraty to, every regular and well-ordered society. It is a danger, similiar in its kind, and at least equal in degree, to that, with which ancient Rome menaced her enemies. The allies of Rome were slaves; and it cost some hundred years efforts of her policy and arms, to make her enemies her allies. Nations, at this

day, can trust no better treaties; they cannot even trust to arms, unless they are used with a spirit and perseverance becoming the magnitude of their danger. For the French revolution has been, from the first, hostile to all right and justice, to all peace and order in society; and, therefore, its very existence has been a state of warfare against the civilized world, and most of all against free and and orderly republics, for such are never without factions, ready to be the allies of France, and to aid her in the work of destruction. Accordingly, scarcely any but republics have they subverted. Such governments, by shewing in practice what republican liberty *is*, detect French imposture, and shew what their pretexts are *not*.

To subvert them, therefore, they had, besides the facility that faction affords, the double excitement of removing a reproach, and converting their greatest obstacles into their most efficient auxiliaries.

Who then, on careful reflection, will be surprised, that the French and their partizans instantly conceived the desire, and made the most powerful attempts, to revolutionize the American government? But it will hereafter seem strange that their excesses should be excused, as the effects of a struggle for liberty; and that so many of our citizens should be flattered, while they were insulted with the idea, that our example was copied, and our principles pursued. Nothing was ever more false, or more fascinating. Our liberty depends on our education, our laws, and habits, to which even prejudices yield; on the dispersion of our people on farms, and on the almost equal diffusion of property; it is founded on morals and religion, whose authority reigns in the heart: and on the influence all these produce on public opinion, before *that* opinion governs rulers. *Here* liberty is restraint; *there* it is violence; *here* it is mild and cheering, like the morning sun of summer, brightening the hills, and making the vallies green; *there* it is like the sun when his rays dart pestilence on the sands of Africa. American liberty calms and restrains the licentious passions, like an angel that says to the winds and troubled seas, be still; but how has French licentiousness appeared to the wretched citizens of Switzerland and Venice? Do not their haunted imaginations, even when they wake, represent her as a monster, with eyes that flash wild fire, hands that hurl thunderbolts, a voice that shakes the foundation of the

hills? She stands, and her ambition measures the earth; she speaks, and an epidemic fury seizes the nations.

Experience is lost upon us, if we deny, that it had seized a large part of the American nation. It is as sober, and intelligent, as free, and as worthy to be free, as any in the world; yet, like all other people we have passions and prejudices, and they had received a violent impulse, which, for a time, misled us.

Jacobinism had become here, as in France, rather a sect than a party, inspiring a fanaticism that was equally intolerant and contagious. The delusion was general enough to be thought the voice of the people, therefore, claiming authority without proof, and jealous enough to exact acquiescence without a murmur of contradiction. Some progress was made in training multitudes to be vindictive and ferocious. To them, nothing seemed amiable, but the revolutionary justice of Paris; nothing terrible, but the government and justice of America. The very name of *patriots* was claimed and applied, in proportion as the citizens had alienated their hearts from America, and transferred their affections to their foreign corrupter. Party discerned its intimate connection of interest with France, and consummated its profligacy by yielding to foreign influence.

The views of these allies required, that this country should engage in war with Great Britain. Nothing less would give to France all the means of annoying this dreaded rival: nothing less would ensure the subjection of America, as a satellite to the ambition of France: nothing else could make a revolution here perfectly inevitable.

For this end, the minds of the citizens were artfully inflamed, and the moment was watched, and impatiently waited for, when their long heated passions should be in fusion, to pour them forth, like the lava of a volcano, to blacken and consume the peace and government of our country.

The systematic operations of a faction under foreign influence had begun to appear, and were successively pursued, in a manner too deeply alarming to be soon forgotten. Who of us does not remember this worst of evils in this worst of ways? Shame would forget, if it could, that, in one of the states, amendments were proposed to break down the federal senate, which, as in the state government, is a great bulwark of the public order. To break down another, an extravagant ju-

diciary power was claimed for states. In another state a rebellion was fomented by the agent of France: and who, without fresh indignation, can remember, that the powers of government were openly usurped, troops levied, and ships fitted out to fight for her? Nor can any true friend to our government consider without dread, that, soon afterwards, the treaty-making power was boldly challanged for a branch of the government, from which the constitution has wisely withholden it.

I am oppressed, and know not how to proceed with my subject. *Washington*, blessed be God! who endued him with wisdom and clothed him with power: *Washington* issued his proclamation of neutrality, and, at an early period, arrested the intrigues of France and the passions of his countrymen, on the very edge of the precipice of war and revolution.

This act of firmness, at the hazard of his reputation and peace, entitles him to the name of the first of patriots. Time was gained for the citizens to recover their virtue and good sense, and they soon recovered them. The crisis was passed, and America was saved.

You and I, most respected fellow-citizens, should be sooner tired than satisfied in recounting the particulars of this illustrious man's life.

How great he appeared while he administered the government, how much greater when he retired from it, how he accepted the chief military command under his wise and upright successessor, how his life was unspotted like his fame, and how his death was worthy of his life, are so many distinct subjects of instruction, and each of them singly more than enough for an elogium. I leave the task, however, to history and to posterity; they will be faithful to it.

It is not impossible, that some will affect to consider the honours paid to this great patriot by the nation, as excessive, idolatrous, and degrading to freemen, who are all equal. I answer, that refusing to virtue its legitimate honours would not prevent their being lavished, in future, on any worthless and ambitious favourite. If this day's example should have its natural effect, it will be salutary. Let such honours be so conferred only when, in future, they shall be so merited: then the public sentiment will not be misled, nor the principles of a just equality corrupted. The best evidence of reputation is a man's whole life. We have now, alas! all *Washington's* before us. There has scarcely appeared a really great man, whose character has been

more admired in his life time, or less correctly understood by his admirers. When it is comprehended, it is no easy task to delineate its excellencies in such a manner, as to give to the portrait both interest and resemblance; for it requires thought and study to understand the true ground of the superiority of his character over many others, whom he resembled in the principles of action, and even in the manner of acting. But perhaps he excels all the great men that ever lived, in the steadiness of his adherence to his maxims of life, and in the uniformity of all his conduct to the same maxims. These maxims, though wise, were yet not so remarkable for their wisdom, as for their authority over his life: for if there were any errors in his judgment, (and he discovered as few as any man) we know of no blemishes in his virtue. He was the patriot without reproach: he loved his country well enough to hold his success in serving it an ample recompense. Thus far self-love and love of country coincided: but when his country needed sacrifices, that no other man could, or perhaps would be willing to make, he did not even hesitate. This was virtue in its most exalted character. More than once he put his fame at hazard, when he had reason to think it would be sacrificed, at least in this age. Two instances cannot be denied: when the army was disbanded; and again, when he stood, like Leonidas at the pass of Thermopylæ, to defend our independence against France.

It is indeed almost as difficult to draw his character, as the portrait of virtue. The reasons are similar: our ideas of moral excellence are obscure, because they are complex, and we are obliged to resort to illustrations. *Washington's* example is the happiest, to shew what virtue is; and to delineate his character, we naturally expatiate on the beauty of virtue: much must be felt, and much imagined. His pre-eminence is not so much to be seen in the display of any one virtue, as in the possession of them all, and in the practice of the most difficult. Hereafter, therefore, his character must be studied before it will be striking; and then it will be admitted as a model, a precious one to a free republic!

It is no less difficult to speak of his talents. They were adapted to lead, without dazzling mankind; and to draw forth and employ the talents of others, without being misled by them. In this he was certainly superior, that he neither mistook nor misapplied his own. His great modesty and reserve would have concealed

them, if great occasions had not called them forth; and then, as he never spoke from affectation to shine, nor acted from any sinister motives, it is from their effects only that we are to judge of their greatness and extent. In public trusts, where men, acting conspicuously, are cautious, and in those private concerns, where few conceal or resist their weaknesses, *Washington* was uniformly great, pursuing right conduct from right maxims. His talents were such as assist a sound judgment, and ripen with it. His prudence was consummate, and seemed to take the direction of his powers and passions; for, as a soldier, he was more solicitous to avoid mistakes that might be fatal, than to perform exploits that are brilliant; and as a statesman, to adhere to just principles, however old, than to pursue novelties, and therefore, in both characters, his qualities were singularly adapted to the interest, and were tried in the greatest perils, of the country. His habits of inquiry were so far remarkable, that he was never satisfied with investigating, nor desisted from it, so long as he had less than all the light that he could obtain upon a subject, and then made his decision without bias.

This command over the partialities that so generally stop men short, or turn them aside in their pursuit of truth, is one of the chief causes of his unvaried course of right conduct in so many difficult scenes, where every human actor must be presumed to err. If he had strong passions, he had learned to subdue them, and to be moderate and mild. If he had weaknesses, he concealed them, which is rare, and excluded them from the government of his temper and conduct, which is still more rare. If he loved fame, he never made improper compliances for what is called popularity. The fame he enjoyed is of the kind that will last for ever; yet it was rather the effect, than the motive, of his conduct. Some future Plutarch will search for a parallel to his character. Epaminondas is perhaps the brightest name of all antiquity. Our *Washington* resembled him in the purity and ardour of his patriotism; and, like him, he first exalted the glory of his country. There, it is to be hoped, the parallel ends: for Thebes fell with Epaminondas. But such comparisons cannot be pursued far, without departing from the similitude. For we shall find it as difficult to compare great men as great rivers; some we admire for the length and rapidity of their current, and the grandeur of their cataracts, others, for the majestic silence and fulness of

their streams: we cannot bring them together to measure the difference of their waters. The unambitious life of *Washington*, declining fame, yet courted by it, seemed, like the Ohio, to choose its long way through solitudes, diffusing fertility; or like his own Potomac, widening and deepening his channel, as he approaches the sea, and displaying most the usefulness and serenity of his greatness towards the end of his course. Such a citizen would do honour to any country. The constant veneration and affection of his country will shew, that it was worthy of such a citizen.

However his military fame may excite the wonder of mankind, it is chiefly by his civil magistracy, that his example will instruct them. Great generals have arisen in all ages of the world, and perhaps most in those of despotism and darkness. In times of violence and convulsion, they rise, by the force of the whirlwind, high enough to ride in it, and direct the storm. Like meteors, they glare on the black clouds with a splendour, that, while it dazzles and terrifies, makes nothing visible but the darkness. The fame of heroes is indeed growing vulgar: they multiply in every long war; they stand in history, and thicken in their ranks, almost as undistinguished as their own soldiers.

But such a chief magistrate as *Washington* appears like the pole star in a clear sky, to direct the skilful statesman. His presidency will form an epoch, and be distinguished as the age of *Washington*. Already it assumes its high place in the political region. Like the milky way, it whitens along its allotted portion of the hemisphere. The latest generations of men will survey, through the telescope of history, the space where so many virtues blend their rays, and delight to separate them into groups and distinct virtues. As the best illustration of them, the living monument, to which the first of patriots would have chosen to consign his fame, it is my earnest prayer to heaven, that our country may subsist, even to that late day, in the plentitude of its liberty and happiness, and mingle its mild glory with *Washington*.

ORIGINAL LETTERS

OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

To Mr. Lund Washington, Mount Vernon, Nov. 26, 1775.

LET the hospitality of the house, with respect to the poor, be kept up. Let no one go hungry away. If any of these kind of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessaries, provided it does not encourage them in idleness. I have no objection to your giving my money in charity, when you think it well bestowed. What I mean by having no objection is, that it is my desire that it should be done. You are to consider, that neither myself nor wife are now in the way to do these good offices. G. W.

In a letter of Jan. 23, 1778, the General writes thus:

I HAVE attended to your information and remark, on the supposed intention of placing General L——, *(meaning Lee, before captivation)*—at the head of the army; whether a serious design of that kind had ever entered into the head of a member of C———— or not, I never was at the trouble of enquiring. I am told a scheme of that kind is now on foot by some, in behalf of another gentleman—but whether true or false, whether serious, or merely to try the pulse, I neither know nor care; neither interested nor ambitious views led me into the service—I did not solicit the command, but accepted it after much entreaty, with all that diffidence which a conscious want of ability and experience equal to the discharge of so important a trust, must naturally create in a mind not quite devoid of thought; and after I did engage, pursued the great line of my duty, and the object in view (as far as my judgment could direct) as pointedly as the needle to the pole. So soon then as the public gets dissatisfied with my services, or a person is found better qualified to answer her expectation, I shall quit the helm with as much satisfaction, and retire to a private station with as much content, as ever the wearied pilgrim felt upon his safe arrival in the Holy-land, or haven of hope;—and shall wish most devoutly, that those who come after me may meet with more pros-

perous gales than I have done, and less difficulty. If the expectation of the public has not been answered by my endeavours, I have more reasons than one to regret it; but at present shall only add, that a day may come when the public cause is no longer to be benefitted by a concealment of our circumstances; and till that period arrives, I shall not be among the first to disclose such truths as may injure it.

February 1778.

WITH far the greatest part of mankind interest is the governing principle. Almost every man is more or less under its influence. Motives of public virtue may for a time, or in particular instances, actuate men to the observance of a conduct purely disinterested; but they are not of themselves sufficient to produce a persevering conformity to the refined dictates and obligations of social duty.

August 20, 1778.

IT is not a little pleasing, nor less wonderful to contemplate, that after two years manœuvering, and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes that, perhaps, ever attended any one contest since the creation; both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and that which was the offending party, is now reduced to the use of the spade and pick-axe for defence. The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations.

November 14, 1772.

THE question of the Canada expedition, as it now stands, appears to me one of the most interesting that has hitherto agitated our national deliberations: I have one objection to it, untouched in my public letter, which is in my estimation unsurmountable, and alarms all my feelings, for the true and permanent interests of my country.

This is, the introduction of a large body of French troops into Canada, and putting them into the possession of the capital of that province; attached to them by the ties of blood, habits, manners, religion, and fa-

mer connection of government. I fear this would be too great a temptation to be resisted by any power actuated by the common maxims of national policy. Canada would be a solid acquisition to France on all accounts; and because of the numerous inhabitants, subjects to her by inclination, who would aid in preserving it under her power, against the attempt of every other, France, it is apprehended, would have it in her power to give law to these states. Let us suppose, that, when the five thousand troops (under the idea of that number twice as many might be introduced) were entered into the city of Quebec, they should declare an intention to hold Canada as a pledge and surety for the debts due to France from the United States. It is a maxim, founded on the universal experience of mankind, that no nation is to be trusted further than it is bound by its interest; and no prudent statesman or politician will venture to depart from it. If France should even engage in the scheme, in the first instance, with the purest intentions; invited by circumstances, she would alter her views.

As the Marquis clothed his proposition, when he spoke of it to me, it would seem to originate wholly from himself; but it is far from impossible, that it had its birth in the cabinet of France, and was put into this artful dress to give it readier currency. I fancy I read in the countenance of some people, on this occasion, more than the disinterested zeal of allies. I hope I am mistaken, and that my fears of mischief make me refine too much, and awaken jealousies that have no sufficient foundation. G. W.

I apprehend this was sent to some confidential member of Congress, and that the proposal of introducing French troops into Canada had been communicated to Congress by Fayette. W. Gordon.

April 22, 1779.

TO speak within bounds, ten thousand pounds will not compensate the loss I might have avoided by being at home, and attending a little to my own concerns, I am now receiving a shilling in the pound in discharge of bonds, which ought to have been paid me, and would have been realised before I left Virginia, but for my indulgence to the debtors. Alas! what is virtue come to, what a miserable change has four years produced in the tempers and dispositions of the sons of America! It really shocks me to think of it. G. W.

TREATING WITH THE INDIANS.

General Washington's *manner of treating with the Indians exemplified in the following speech and reply.*

SPEECH

Of Corn Plant, Half Town, and Big Tree, to the presisident of the United State.

TO THE GREAT COUNCIL OF THE THIRTEEN FIRES.

The speech of Corn Plant, Half Town, and Big Tree, Chiefs and counsellors of the Seneca nation.

Father,

THE voice of the Seneca nation speaks to you—the great counsellor, in whose heart the wise men of all the thirteen fires have placed their wisdom; it may be very small in your ears, and we therefore intreat you to hearken with attention, for we are about to speak of things which are, to us, very great.

When your army entered the country of the six nations, we called you the town destroyer; and to this day, when your name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers. Our counsellors and warriors are men, and cannot be afraid: but their hearts are grieved with the fears of our women and children, and desire that it may be buried so deep, as to be heard no more.

When you gave us peace, we called you father; because you promised to secure us in the possession of our lands. Do this, and so long as the land shall remain, that beloved name will be in the heart of every Seneca.

Father,

We mean to open our hearts before you, and we earnesly desire that you will let us clearly understand what you resolve to do.

When our chiefs returned from the treaty at Fort Stanwix, and laid before our council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give up to you,

without your paying to us any thing for it. Every one said that yours hearts were yet swelled with resentment against us, for what had happened during the war; but that one day you would consider it with more kindness. We ask each other, what have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?

Father,

When you kindled your thirteen fires separately, the wise men assembled at them told us, that you were all brothers—the children of one great father—who regarded the red people as his children.—They called us brothers, and invited us to his protection. They told us that he resided beyond the great water, where the sun first rises—that he was a king whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was bright as the sun—what they said, went to our hearts. We accepted the invitation, and promised to obey him. What the Seneca nation promises, they faithfully perform: and when you refused obedience to that king, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober.—In obeying him, we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise. The men who claimed this promise, told us that you were children and had no guns—that when they had shaken you, you would submit. We hearkened unto them, and were deceived until your army approached our towns. We were deceived; but your people teaching us to confide in that king, had helped to deceive us; and we now appeal to your heart—Is all the blame ours?

Father,

When we saw that we had been deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us to draw near to the fire, which you had kindled, and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste toward it. You then told us you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded from us a great country, as the price of that peace which you had offered to us; as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights. Our chiefs had felt your power, and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to, has bound our nation: but your anger against us must, by this time, be cooled, and although our strength has not increased, nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly—were the terms dictated to us by your commissioners, reasonable and just?

Father,

Your commissioners, when they drew the line which separated the land then given up to you, from that which you agreed should remain to be ours, did most solemnly promise, that we should be secured in the peaceable possession of the land which we inhabited east and north of that line. Does this promise bind you?

Hear now, we intreat you, what has since happened, concerning that land. On the day we finished the treaty at fort Stanwix, commissioners from Pennsylvania told our chiefs that they had come there to purchase from us, all the lands belonging to us within the lines of their state; and they told us that their line would strike the river Susquehanna below Tioga branch. They then left us to consider of the bargain until next day. The next day we let them know that we were unwilling to sell all the land within their state, and proposed to let them have a part of it, which we pointed out to them in their map. They told us that they must have the whole; that it was already ceded to them by the great king, at the time of making peace with you, and was then their own; but they said that they would not take advantage of that, and were willing to pay us for it, after the manner of their ancestors. Our chiefs were unable to contend at that time; and therefore sold the lands up to the line, which was then shown them, as the line of that state.—What the commissioners had said about the land having been ceded to them at the peace, they considered as intended only to lessen the price, and they passed it by with very little notice; but since that time, we have heard so much from others about the right to our lands, which the king gave when you made peace with him, that it is our earnest desire that you will tell us what it means.

Our nation empowered J. L. to let out a part of our lands. He told us that he was sent by congress to do this for us, and we fear he has deceived us in the writing he obtained from us: for since the time of our giving that power, a man named P——, has come and claimed our whole country northward of the line of Pennsylvania under a purchase from that L. to whom he said he had paid twenty thousands dollars for it—he also said, that he had bought it from the council of the thirteen fires, and paid them twenty thousand more for the same—and he also said that it did not belong to us, for that the great king had ceded the whole of it when you made

peace with him. Thus he claimed the whole country north of Pennsylvania, and west of the lands belonging to the Cayugas. He demanded it—he insisted on his demand, and declared to us that he would have it all. It was impossible for us to grant him this, and we immediately refused it. After some days, he proposed to run a line a small distance eastward of our western boundary, which we also refused to agree to. He then threatened us with immediate war, if we did not comply.

Upon this threat, our chiefs held a council: and they agreed, that no event of war could be worse than to be driven, with our wives and children, from the only country which we had any right to: and therefore, weak as our nation was, they determined to take the chance of war rather than submit to such unjust demands which seemed to have no bounds. Mr. Street, the great trader at Niagara, was then with us, having come at the request of P——; and as he had always professed to be our great friend, we consulted him on this subject. He also told us, that our lands had been ceded by the king, and that we must give them up. Astonished at what we heard from every quarter, with hearts aching with compassion for our women and children, we were thus compelled to give up all our country north of the line of Pennsylvania, and east of the Chenesee river up to the great forks, and east of a south line drawn up from that fork to the line of Pennsylvania. For this land P—— agreed to pay us ten thousand dollars in hand, and one thousand dollars a years forever. He paid us two thousand five hundred dollars; and he sent for us to come last spring and receive our money. But instead of paying us the remainder of the ten thousand dollars, and the one thousand dollars due for the first year, he offered only five hundred dollars, and insisted that he had agreed with us for that sum to be paid yearly.

We debated with him for six days. during all which time he persisted in refusing to pay us our just demand: and he insisted, that we should receive the five hundred dollars; and Street from Niagara also insisted on our receiving the money, as it was offered to us. The last reason which he assigned for continuing to refuse paying us was—that the king had ceded the lands to the thirteen fires, and that he had bought them from you, and paid you for them.

Father,

We could bear this confusion no longer, and determined to press through every difficulty, and lift up our voice, so that you might hear us, and to claim that security in the possession of our lands, which your commissioners so solemnly promised us: and we now intreat you to inquire into our complaints, and to redress our wrongs.

Father,

Our writings were lodged in the hands of S. of Niagara, as we supposed him to be our friend; but when we saw P. consulting S. on every occasion, we doubted of his honesty towards us: and we have since heard, thas he was to receive for his endeavours to deceive us, a piece of land ten miles in width, west of the Chenesee river, and near forty miles in length, extending to lake Ontario: and the lines of this tract have been run accordingly, although no part of it is within the bounds which limit his purchase.

Father,

You have said that we were in your land, and that by closing it, you could crush us to nothing. Are you then determined to crushus! If you are, tell us so, that those of our nation, who have become your children, and have determined to die so, may know what to do. In this case, one chief has said, he would ask you to put him out of his pain. Another, who will not think of dying by the hand of his father or of his brother, has said he will retire to the Chataughque, eat of the fatal root, and sleep with his father in peace.

Before you determine on a measure so unjust, look up to God who made us as well as you. We hope he will not permit you, to destroy the whole of our nation.

Father,

Hear our case. Many nations inhabited this country; but they had no wisdom; therefore they warred together—the six nations were powerful, and compelled them to peace. The land, for a great extent, was given up to them, but the nations which were not destroyed, all continued on those lands, and claimed the protection of the six nations, as brothers of their fathers. They were men, and, when at peace, had a right to live upon the earth.

The French came among us, and built Niagara; they became our fathers, and took care of us. Sir William Johnson came, and took that fort from the French; he became our father, and promised to take care of us; and he did so, until you were too strong for his king. To him we gave four miles round Niagara, as a place of trade. We have already said how we came to join against you; we saw that we were wrong: we wished for peace; you demanded a great country to be given up to you: it was surrendered to you, as the price of peace: and we ought to have peace and possession of the little land which you then left us.

Father,

When that great country was given up to you, there were but few chiefs present; and they were compelled to give it up. And it is not the six nations only that reproach those chiefs with having given up that country. The Chipaways, and all the nations who lived on these lands westward, call to us, and ask us, brothers of our fathers, where is the place which you have reserved for us to lie down upon?

Father,

You have compelled us to do that which makes us ashamed; we have nothing to answer to the children of the brothers of our fathers. When last spring they called upon us to go to war, to secure them a bed to lie down upon; the Senecas intreated them to be quiet, until we had spoken to you; but on our way down, we heard that your army had gone towards the country which those nations inhabited, and if they meet together, the best blood on both sides will fall to the ground.

Father,

We will not conceal from you, that the great God, and not men, has preserved the Corn Plant from the hands of his own nation. For they ask continually, where is the land which our children, and their children after them are to lie down upon? You told us, say they, that the line drawn from Pennsylvania to lake Ontario, would mark it forever on the east, and the line running from Beaver creek to Pennsylvania, would mark it on the west; and we see that it is not so; for first one and then another come and take it away, by order of that people which you tell us promised to secure it to us. He is silent; for he has nothing to answer.

When the sun goes down, he opens his heart before God, and earlier than the sun appears again upon the hills, he gives thanks for his protection during the night; for he feels, that among men become desperate by the injuries they sustain, it is God only that can preserve him. He loves peace: and all he had in store he has given to those who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the innocent to repay themselves. The whole season, which others have employed in providing for their families, he has spent in endeavours to preserve peace: and this moment his wife and children are lying on the ground, and in want of food; his heart is in pain for them; but he perceives that the Great Spirit will try his firmness in doing what is right.

Father,

The game, which the Great Spirit sent into our country, for us to eat, is going from among us. We thought he intended we should till the ground with the plough, as the white people do; and we talked to one another about it. But before we speak to you concerning this, we must know from you, whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till. Speak plainly to us, concerning this great business.

All the land we have been speaking of, belonged to the six nations. No part of it ever belonged to the king of England; and he could not give it up to you. The land we live on, our fathers received from God; and they transmitted it to us for our children; and we cannot part with it.

Father,

We told you, that we would open our hearts to you: hear us once more. At fort Stanwix, we agreed to deliver up those of our people who should do you any wrong, and that you might try them, and punish them according to your law. We delivered up two men accordingly: but instead of trying them according to your law, the lowest of your people took them from your magistrate, and put them immediately to death. It is just to punish the murderer with death: but the Senecas will not deliver up their people to men who disregard the treaties of their own nation.

Father,

Innocent men of our nation are killed, one after another, and of our best families; but none of your people, who have committed those murders, have been punished. We recollect that you did promise to punish those who killed our people; and we ask, was it intended that your people should kill the Senecas, and not only remain unpunished, but be protected from the next of kin?

Father,

These are to us very great things; we know that you are very strong, and we have heard that you are wise, and we shall wait to hear your answer, that we may know that you are just.

Signed at Philadelphia, December 1790.

By the CORN ✕ PLANT,
HALF ✕ TOWN,
BIG ✕ TREE.

In presence of Joseph Nicholson, interpreter, and sundry others.

REPLY.

The reply of the President of the United States, to the speech of the Corn Plant, Half Town, and Big Tree, chiefs and counsellors of the Seneca nation of Indians.

I THE president of the United States, by my own mouth, and by a written speech, signed by my own hand, and sealed with the seal of the United States, speak to the Seneca nation, and desire their attention, that they would keep this speech in remembrance of the friendship of the United States.

I have received your speech with satisfaction, as a proof of your confidence in the justice of the United States: and I have attentively examined the several objects which you have laid before me, whether delivered by your chiefs at Tioga point, in the last month, to Col. Pickering, or laid before me in the present month, by Corn Plant and other Seneca chiefs, now in Philadelphia.

In the first place, I observe to you, and I request it may sink deep into your minds, that it is my desire, and the desire of the United States, that all the miseries of the late war should be forgotten, and buried forever. That, in future, the United States and the six

nations should be truly brothers, promoting each others' prosperity by acts of mutual friendship and justice.

I am not uninformed that the six nations have been led into some difficulties with respect to the sale of their lands, since the peace. But I must inform you that these evils arose before the general government of the United States was established, when the separate states, and individuals under their authority, undertook to treat with the Indian tribes, respecting the sale of their lands.

But the case is now entirely altered. The general government only, has the power to treat with the Indian nations: and any treaty formed and held without its authority, will not be binding.

Here then is the security for the remainder of your lands. No state or person can purchase your lands, unless at some public treaty held under the authority of the United States. The general government will never consent to your being defrauded: but it will protect you in all your rights.

Hear well, and let it be heard by every person in your nation, that the president of the United States declares, that the general government considers itself bound to protect you in all the lands secured you by the treaty at fort Stanwix, the 22d day of October, 1784, except such part as you may since have fairly sold to persons properly authorised, to purchase of you.

You complain that J. L. and O. P. have obtained your lands, assisted by Mr. S. of Niagara, and that they have not complied with their agreement.

It appears, upon enquiry of the governor of New York, that J. L. was not legally authorised to treat with you; and that every thing he did with you, has been declared null and void, so that you may rest easy on that account.

But it does not appear from any proof, yet in the possession of government, that O. P. has defrauded you. If, however, you should have any just cause of complaint against him, and can make satisfactory proof thereof, the federal courts will be open to you for redress, as to all other persons.

But your great object seems to be, the security of your remaining lands; and I have therefore upon this point meant to be sufficiently strong and clear.

That in future you cannot be defrauded of your lands. That you possess the right to sell, and the right of refusing to sell your lands; that therefore the sale of

your lands, in future, will depend entirely on yourselves.

But that when you may find it for your interest to sell any part of your lands, the United States must be present by their agent, and will be your security, that you shall not be defrauded in the bargain you may make.

It will, however, be important, before you make any further sale of your land, that you should determine among yourselves, who are the persons among you, that shall give such conveyances thereof, as shall be binding on your nation, and forever preclude all disputes relative to the validity of the sale.

That, besides the before mentioned security for your land, you will perceive, by the laws of congress for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, the fatherly care the United States intend to take of the Indians. For the particular meaning of this law, I refer you to the explanations given thereof, by Col. Pickering, at Tioga, which, with the laws, are herewith delivered to you.

You have said in your speech, that the game is going away from among you, and that you thought it the design of the Great Spirit, that you till the ground; but before you speak upon this subject, you want to know, whether the United States meant to leave you any land to till.

You now know, that all the lands secured to you by the treaty of fort Stanwix, excepting such parts as you may once have fairly sold, are yours; and that only your own acts can convey them away. Speak, therefore, your wishes on the subject of tilling the ground, the United States will be happy to afford you every assistance in the only business, which will add to your numbers and happiness.

The murders, which have been committed upon some of your people by the bad white men, I sincerely lament and reprobate: and I earnestly hope, that the real murderers will be secured and punished as they deserve. This business has been sufficiently explained to you here by the governor of Pennsylvania, and by Col. Pickering, in behalf of the United States, at Tioga.

The Senecas may be assured, that the rewards offered for apprehending the murderers, will be continued until they are secured for trial; and that when they shall be apprehended, they will be tried and punished as if they had killed white men.

Having answered the most material parts of your

speech, I shall inform you that some bad Indians, and the outcast of several tribes, who reside at the Miami village, have long continued their murders and depredations upon the frontiers lying along the Ohio. That they have not only refused to listen to my voice, inviting them to peace, but that upon receiving it, they renewed their incursions and murders, with greater violence than ever. I have therefore been obliged to strike these bad people, in order to make them sensible of their madness. I sincerely hope that they will hearken to reason, and not require to be further chastised. The United States desire to be friends of the Indians, upon terms of justice and humanity; but they will not suffer the depredations of the bad Indians to go unpunished.

My desire is, that you would caution all the Senecas, and six nations, to prevent their rash young men from joining the Miami Indians; for the United States cannot distinguish the tribes to which bad Indians belong; and every tribe must take care of their own people.

The merits of the Corn Plant, and his friendship for the United States, are well known to me, and shall not be forgotten: and as a mark of the esteem of the United States, I have directed the secretary of war, to make him a present of two hundred and fifty dollars, either in money or goods, as the Corn Plant shall like best: and he may depend on the future care and kindness of the United States. And I have also directed the secretary of war to make suitable presents to the other chiefs present in Philadelphia, and also that some further tokens of friendship be forwarded to the other chiefs now in their nation.

Remember my words, Senecas; continue to be strong in your friendship for the United States, as the only rational ground of your future happiness; and you may rely upon their kindness and protection.

An agent shall soon be appointed to reside in some place, convenient to the Senecas, and six nations; he will represent the United States—apply to him on all occasions.

If any man brings you evil reports of the intentions of the United States, mark that man as your enemy; for he will mean to deceive you, and lead you into trouble. The United States will be true and faithful to their engagements.

GIVEN under my hand and seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, this twenty-ninth day of

December, in the year of our Lord 1790, and in the fifteenth year of the sovereiguty and independence of the United States.

G. WASHINGTON.

By the president.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Enrolled in the rolls-office for the state of Pennsylvania, in commission book, No. 1, page 255, &c.

MATT. IRWIN.

ON WASHINGTON.

Not so the patriot chief, who dares withstand
The base invaders of his native land—
Who makes her weal his noblest, only end—
Rules but to serve her, fights but to defend—
Her voice in council, and in fight her sword,
Lov'd as a father, barely not ador'd;
Who, firmly virtuous, and humanely brave,
Strives not to conquer fellow-men, but save.
On worth like his the muse delights to wait,
Reveres alike in triumph, or defeat;
Crowns with true glory, and with spotless fame,
And, fix'd on his, forgets proud Fred'ric's name.
In times like these, if such a man there be,
Who does not feel, that *Washington* is he?
Hail, first of patriots! form'd by heav'n's own hand,
First to preserve, then teach thy native land:
Whose arm was nerv'd by freedom, when he fought,
Whose pen bright wisdom guided while he wrote—
Whose conduct seals the lessons he has taught—
From whose wise page Columbia's rising youth,
Must gather public honour, faith, and truth;
There learn by times, that freedom's sacred cause
Must sink, when faction bursts the gen'rous laws,
By wisdom fram'd, the wayward to controul;
And from the public body tears the soul.
Hail happy man; thy animating name
To latest times shall kindle freedom's flame,
The greatful breasts of future myriads fire,
When hea'vn-taught bards shall strike the sounding lyre,
And tell them, glowing with a conscious pride,
Thou wast their chief deliv'rer, parent, guide.

LETTER.

Washington's *letter on framing the federal constitution.*

In convention, Sept. 17, 1787.

Sir,

WE have now the honour to submit to the consideration of the United States in congress assembled, that constitution which has appeared to us the most advisable,

The friends of our country have long seen and desired, that the power of making war, peace, and treaties, that of levying money, and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities, should be fully and effectually vested in the general government of the union; but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body of men is evident. Hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable in the federal government of these states, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several states, as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the *consolidation of our union*, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our *national existence.* This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the convention, to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected: and thus the constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession, which the peculiarity of our *political situation rendered indispensible.*

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every state, is not, perhaps, to be expected; but each will doubtless, consider, that had her interests been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others. That it is liable to as few exceptions, as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe. That it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.—

With great respect, we have the honour to be,
Sir, your excellency's most obedient
and humble servants,
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President.

By unanimous order of the convention.
His excellency, the president of congress.

A FUNERAL ORATION,

ON

THE DEATH OF

GENERAL WASHINGTON:

Deliverd by J. M. Mason, D. D.

By appointment of a number of the Clergy of New York.

Fellow-citizens,

THE offices of this day belong less to eloquence than to grief. We celebrate one of those great events, which, by uniting public calamity with private affliction, create in every bosom a response to the throes of an empire. God, who doeth wonders; whose ways must be adored but not questioned, in severing from the embraces of America her first beloved patriot, has imposed on her the duty of blending impassioned feeling with profound and unmurmuring submission. An assembled nation, lamenting a father in their departed chief; absorbing every inferior consideration in the sentiment of their common loss; mingling their recollections and their anticipations; their wishes, their regrets, their sympathies, and their tears, is a spectacle not more tender than awful, and excites emotions too mighty for utterance, I should have no right to complain, Americans, if, instead of indulging me with your attention, you should command me to retire, and leave you to weep in the silence of woe. I should deserve the reprimand, were I to appear before you with the pretensions of eulogy. No! Eulogy has mistaken her province and her powers when she assumes for her theme the glory of *Washington*. His deeds and his virtues are his high elogium. His deeds most familiar to your memories, his virtues most dear to your affections. To me, therefore, nothing is permitted, but to borrow from yourselves. And though a pencil more daring than mine would languish in attempting to retrace the living lines which the finger of Truth has drawn upon your hearts, you will bear with me, while on a subject which dignifies every thing related to it, 'I tell you that which you yourselves do know.'

The name of *Washington*, connected with all that is most brilliant in the history of our country, and in human character, awakens sensations which agitate the fervors of youth, and warm the chill bosom of age. Transported to the times when America rose to repel her wrongs, and to claim her destinies, a scene of boundless grandeur bursts upon our view. Long had her filial duty expostulated with parental injusice. Long did she deprecate the rupture of those ties which she had been proud of preserving and displaying. But her humble intreaty spurned; agressions followed by the rod, and the rod by scorpions, having changed remonstrance into murmur, and murmur into resistanc, she tranfers her grievances from the throne of earth to the throne of heaven; and precedes by an appeal to the God of battles, her appeal to the sword of war. At issue now with the mistress of the seas; unfurnished with equal means of defence; the convulsive shock approaching; and every evil omen passing before her, one step of rashness or of folly may seal her doom. In this accumulation of trouble, who shall command her confidence, and face her dangers, and conduct her cause? God, whose kingdom ruleth over all, prepares from afar the instruments best adapted to his purpose. By an influence which it would be as irrational to dispute, as it is vain to scrutinize, he stirs up the spirit of the statesman and the soldier. Minds on which he has bestowed the elements of greatness, are brought, by his providence, into contact with exigencies which rouse them into action. It is in the season of effort and of peril that impotence disappears, and energy arises. The whirlwind which sweeps away the glow-worm, uncovers the fire of genius, and kindles it into a blaze that irradiates at once both the zenith and the poles.—But among the heroes who sprung from obscurity, when the college, the counting-house, and the plough, teemed with "thunderbolts of war," none could, in all respects, meet the wants and the wishes of America. She required, in her leader, a man reared under her own eye; who combined. with distinguished talent, a character above suspicion; who had added to his physical and moral qualities the experience of difficult service; a man who should concentrate in himself the public affections and confidences; who should know how to multiply the energies of every other man under his direction, and to make disaster itself the means of success—his arm a fortress, and his name a host, Such a man

it were almost presumption to expect; but such a man all-ruling Heaven had provided, and that man was *Washington*.

Pre-eminent already in worth, he is summoned by his country to the pre-eminence of toil and of danger. Unallured by the charms of opulence: unappalled by the hazard of a dubious warfare: unmoved by the prospect of being, in the event of failure, the first and most conspicuous victim, he obeys her mandate, because he loves his duty. The resolve is firm, for the probation is terrible. His threatre is a world; his charge, a family of nations; the interest staked in his hands, the prosperity of millions unborn in ages to come. His means, under aid from on high, the resources of his own breast, with the raw recruits and irregular supplies of distracted colonies. O crisis worthy of such a hero!—— Followed by her little bands, her prayers and her tears, *Washington* espouses the quarrel of his country. As he moves on to the conflict, every heart palpitates, and every knee trembles. The foe, alike valiant and veteran, presents no easy conquest, nor ought inviting but to those who had consecrated their blood to the public weal. The Omnipotent, who allots great enjoyment as the meed of great exertion, had ordained that America should be free; but that she should learn to value the blessing by the price of its acquisition. She shall go to a "wealthy place," but her way is "through fire and through water." Many a generous chief must bleed, and many a gallant youth sink, at his side, into the surprised grave; the field must be heaped with slain; the purple torrent must roll, ere the angel of peace descend with his olive. It is here, amid devastation, and horror, and death, that *Washington* must reap his laurels, and engrave his trophies on the shields of immortality. Shall Delaware and Princeton? Shall Monmouth and York!—But I may not particularize; far less repeat the tale which babes recite, which poets sing, and Fame has published to a listening world. Every scene of his action was a scene of his triumph. Now, he saved the republic by more than Fabian caution; Now, he avenged her by more than Carthaginian fierceness. While, at every stroke, her forests and her hills re-echoed to her shout, "The sword of the *Lord* and of *Washington!*"—Nor was this the vain applause of partiality and enthusiasm. The blasted schemes of Britain; her broken and her captive hosts, proclaimed the terror of his arms. Skilled were her chiefs, and

brave her legions: but bravery and skill rendered them a conquest more worthy of *Washington*. True, he suffered, in his turn, repulse and even defeat. It was both natural and needful. Unchequered with reverse, his story would have resembled rather the fictions of romance, than the truth of narrative: And had he been neither defeated nor repulsed, we had never seen all the grandeur of his soul, He arrayed himself in fresh honours by that which ruins even the great—Vicissitude. He could not only subdue an enemy, but, what is infinitely more, he could subdue misfortune. With an equanimity which gave temperance to victory, and cheerfulness to disaster, he balanced the fortunes of the state. In the face of hostile prowess: In the midst of mutiny and treason: Surrounded with astonishment, irresolution, and despondence, *Washington* remained erect, unmoved, invincible. Whatever ills America might endure in maintaining her rights, she exulted that she had nothing to fear from her commander in chief. The event justified her most sanguine presages. That invisible hand which girded him at first, continued to guard and to guide him through the successive stages of the revolution. Nor did he account it a weakness to bend the knee in homage to its supremacy, and prayer for its direction. This was the armour of *Washington:* This the salvation of his country.

The hope of her reduction at length abandoned; her war of liberty brought, in the establishment of independence, to that honourable conclusion for which it had been undertaken; the hour arrived when he was to resign the trust which he had accepted with diffidence. To a mind less pure and elevated, the situation of America would have furnished the pretext, as well as the means, of military usurpation. Talents equal to daring enterprize; the derangement of public affairs; unbounded popularity; and the devotion of a suffering army, would have been to every other a strong, and to almost any other, an irresistible temptation. In *Washington* they did not produce even the pain of self-denial, They added the last proof of his disinterestedness; and imposed on his country the last obligation to gratitude. Impenetrable by corrupting influence; deaf to honest but erring solicitation; irreconcileable with every disloyal sentiment, he urged the necessity, and set the example, of laying down in peace, arms assumed for the common defence. But to separate from the companions of his danger and his glory,

was, even for *Washington*, a difficult task. About to leave them for ever, a thousand sensations rushed upon his heart, and all the soldier melted in the man. He who has no tenderness, has no magnanimity. *Washington* could vanquish, and *Washington* could weep. Never was affection more cordially reciprocated. The grasped hand; the silent anguish; the spontaneous tear trickling down the scarred cheek: the wistful look, as he passed, after the warrior who should never again point their way to victory—form a scene for nature's painter, and for nature's bard.

But we must not lose, in our sensibility, the remembrance of his penetration, his prudence, his regard of public honour, and of public faith. Abhorring outrage; jealous for the reputation, and dreading the excesses, of even a gallant army, flushed with conquest, prompted by incendiaries, and sheltered by a semblance of right, his last act of authority is to dismiss them to their homes without entering the capital. Accompanied with a handful of troops, he repairs to the council of the States, and, through them, surrenders to his country the sword which he had drawn in her defence. Singular phenomenon! *Washington* becomes a private citizen. He exchanges supreme command for the tranquillity of domestic life. Go, incomparable man! to adorn no less the civic virtues, than the splendid atchievements of the field: Go, rich in the consciousness of thy high deserts: Go, with the admiration of the world, with the plaudit of millions, and the orisons of millions more for thy temporal and thine eternal bliss!

The glory of *Washington* seemed now complete. While the universal voice proclaimed that he might decline, with honour, every future burden, it was a wish and an opinion, almost as universal, that he would not jeopardize the fame which he had so nobly won. Had personal considerations swayed his mind this would have been his own decision. But, untutored in the philosophism of the age, he had not learned to separate the maxims of wisdom from the injunctions of duty. His soul was not debased by that moral cowardice which fears to risk popularity for the general good Having assisted in the formation of an efficient government which he had refused to dictate or enforce at the mouth of his canon, he was ready to contribute the weight of his character to insure its effect. And his country rejoiced in an opportunity of testifying, that, much as she loved and trusted others, she still loved and trusted him

most. Hailed, by her unanimous suffrage, the pilot of the state, he approachee the awful helm, and grasping it with equal firmness and ease, demonstrates that *forms* of power cause no embarrassment to him.

In so novel an experiment, as a nation framing a government for herself under no impulse but that of reason; adopting it through no force but the force of conviction; and putting it into operation without bloodshed or violence, it was all important that her first magistrate should possess her unbounded good-will. Those elements of discord which lurked in the diversity of local interest; in the collision of political theories; in the irritations of party; in the disappointed or gratified ambition of individuals; and which, notwithstanding her graceful transition, threatened the harmony of America, it was for *Washington* alone to controul and repress. His tried integrity, his ardent patriotism, were instead of a volume of aguments for the excellence of that system which he approved and supported. Among the simple and honest, whom no artifice was omitted to ensnare, there were thousands who knew little of the philosophy of government, and less of the nice machinery of the constitution; but they knew that *Washington* was wise and good; they knew it was impossible that *he* should betray them; and by this they were rescued from the fangs of faction. Ages will not furnish so instructive a comment on that cardinal virtue of republicans, confidence in the men of their choice; nor a more salutary antidote against the pestilential principle, that the soul of a republic is jealousy. At the commencement of her federal government, mistrust would have ruined America; in confidence, she found her safety.

The re-appearance of *Washington* as a statesman, excited the conjecture of the old world, and the anxiety of the new. His martial fame had fixed a criterion, however inaccurate, of his civil administration. Military genius does neither confer nor imply political ability. Whatever merit may be attached to the faculty of arranging the principles, and prosecuting the details, of an army, it must be conceded that vaster comprehensions belong to the statesman. Ignorance, vanity, the love of paradox, and the love of mischief, affecting to sneer at the "mystery of government," have indeed, taught, that common sense and common honesty are his only requisites. The nature of things and the experience of every people, in every age, teach a diffe-

rent doctrine. America had multitudes who possessed both those qualities, but she had only one *Washington*. To adjust, in the best compromise, a thousand interfering views, so as to effect the greatest good of the whole with the least inconvience to the parts; to curb the dragon of faction by means which ensure the safety of public liberty; to marshal opinion and prejudice among the auxiliaries of the law; in fine, to touch the main spring of national agency, so as to preserve the equipoise of its powers, and to make the feeblest movement of the extremities accord with the impulse at the centre, is only for genius of the highest order. To excel equally in military and political science, has been the praise of a few chosen spirits, among whom, with a proud preference, we enrol the father of our country.

It was the fortune of *Washington* to direct transactions of which the repetition is hardly within the limits of human possibilities. When he entered on his first presidency, all the interests of the continent were vibrating through the arch of political uncertainty. The departments of the new government were to be marked out, and filled up; foreign relations to be regulated; the physical and moral strength of the nation to be organized; and that at a time when scepticism in politics, no less than religion and morals, was preparing, throughout Europe, to spring the mine of revolution and ruin. In discharging his first duties, that same intelligent, cautious, resolute procedure, which had rendered him the bulwark of war, now exhibited him as the guardian of peace. Appropriation of talent to employment, is one of the deep results of political sagacity. And in his selection of men for office, *Washington* displayed a knowledge of character and of business, a contempt of favouritism, and a devotion to the public welfare, which permitted the *General* to be rivalled only by the *President*.

Under such auspices, the fruit and the pledge of divine blessing, America rears her head, and recovers her vigours. Agriculture laughs on the land: Commerce ploughs the wave: Peace rejoices her at home; and she grows into respect abroad. Ah! too happy, to progress without interruption. The explosions of Europe bring new vexations to her, and new trials and new glories to her *Washington*. Vigilant and faithful, he hears the tempest roar from afar, warns her of its approach, and prepares for averting its dangers. Black are the heavens, and angry the billows, and narrow and perilous

the passage. But his composure, dignity, and firmness, are equal to the peril. Unseduced by fraud; unterrified by threat; unawed by clamour; he holds on his steady way, and again he saves his country. With less decision on the part of *Washington*, a generous but mistaken ardour would have plunged her into the whirlpool, and left her till this hour the sport of the contending elements. Americans! bow to that magnanimous policy, which protected your dearest interests at the hazard of incuring your displeasure. It was thus that *Washington* proved himself, not in the cant of the day, but in the procurement of substantial good, in stepping between them and perdition, the servant of the people

The historian of this period will have to record a revolt raised by infatuation, against the law of the land. He will have to record the necessity which compelled even *Washington* to suppress it by the sword. But he will have to record also his gentleness and his lenity. Deeds of severity were his sad tribute to justice: deeds of humanity, the native suggestions of his heart.

Eight years of glorious administration created a claim on the indulgence of his country, which none could think of disputing, but which all lamented should be urged. The ends which rendered his services indispensible, being mostly attained, he demands his restoration to private life. Resigning to an able successor the reigns which he had guided with characteristic felicity, he once more bids adieu to public honours. Let not his motives be mistaken or forgotten. It was for him to set as great examples in the relinquishment, as in the acceptance, of power. No mortified ambition; no haughty disgusts; no expectation of higher office, prompted his retreat. He knew that foreign nations considered his life as the bond, and his influence as the vital spirit of our union. He knew that his own lustre threw a shade over others, not more injurious to them than to his country. He wished to dispel the enchantment of his own name: he wished to relieve the apprehensions of America, by making her sensible of her riches in other patriots; to be a spectator of her prosperity under their management; and to convince herself, and to convince the world, that she depended less on him, than either her enemies or her friends believed. —And therefore he withdrew.

Having lavished all her honours, his country had nothing more to bestow upon him except her blessing.

But he had more to bestow upon his country. His views and his advice, the condensed wisdom of all his reflection, observation and experience, he delivers to his compatriots in a manual worthy of them to study, and of him to compose. And now, when they could hope to enjoy only the satisfaction of still possessing him, the pleasure of recounting his acts, and the benefit of practising his lessons, they accompany his retirement with their aspirations, that his evening may be as serene, as his morning had been fair, and his noon resplendent.

That he should ever again endure the solicitudes of office, was rather to be deprecated than desired. Because it must be a crisis singularly portentous, which could justify another invasion of his repose. From such a necessity we fondly promised ourselves exemption. Flattering, fallacious security! The sudden whirlwind springs out of a calm. The revolutions of a day proclaim that an empire was. However remote the position of America; however peaceful her character; however cautious and equitable her policy; she was not to go unmolested by the gigantic fiend of Gallic domination. That she was free and happy, was crime and provocation enough. He fastened on her his murderous eye; he was preparing for that deadly embrace, in which nations supine and credulous had already perished. Reduced to the alternative of swelling the catalouge of his victims, or arguing her cause with the bayonet and the ball; she bursts the ill-fated bonds which had linked her to his destinies, and assumes the tone and attitude of defiance. The gauntlet is cast. To press on is perilous: to retreat destruction. She looks wistfully round, and calls for *Washington*. The well-known voice, that voice which he had ever accounted a law, pierces the retreats of Vernon, and thrills his bosom. Domestic enjoyments lose their charm; repose becomes to him inglorious; every sacrifice is cheap, and every exertion easy, when his beloved country requires his aid. With all the alacrity of youth, he flies to her succour. The helmet of war presses his silver locks. His sword, which dishonour had never tarnished, nor corruption poisoned, he once more unsheaths, and prepares to receive on its point the insolence of that foe whose intrigue he had foiled by his wisdom.

It must ever be difficult to compare the merits of *Washington's* characters, because he always appeared greatest in that which he last sustained. Yet if there is a preference, it must be assigned to the Lieutenant

General of the Armies of America. Not because the duties of that station were more arduous than those which he had often performed, but because it more fully displayed his magnanimity. While others become great by elevation, *Washington* becomes greater by condescension. Matchless patriot! to stoop, on public motives, to an inferior appointment, after possessing and dignifying the highest offices! Thrice favoured country, which boasts of such a citizen! We gaze with astonishment: we exult that we are Americans. We augur every thing great, and good, and happy.—But whence this sudden horror? What means that cry of agony? Oh! 'tis the shriek of America! The fairy vision is fled: *Washington* is——no more!——

"How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!"

Daughters of America, who erst prepared the festal bower and the laurel-wreathe, plant now the cypress-grove, and water it with tears.

"How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!"

The death of *Washington*, Americans, has revealed the extent of our loss. It has given us the final proof that we never mistook him. Take his affecting testament, and read the secrets of his soul. Read all the power of domestic virtue. Read his strong love of letters and of liberty. Read his fidelity to Republican principle, and his jealousy of national character. Read his devotedness to you in his military bequests to near relations. "These swords," they are the words of *Washington*, "these swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defence, or in defence of their country and its rights; and in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof."

In his acts, Americans, you have seen the man. In the complicated excellence of character, he stands alone. Let no future Plutarch attempt the iniquity of parallel. Let no soldier of fortune; let no usurping conqueror; let not Alexander or Cæsar; let not Cromwell or Bonaparte; let none among the dead or the living, appear in the same picture with *Washington*: or let them appear as the shade to his light.

On this subject, my countrymen, it is for others to speculate, but it is for us to feel. Yet in proportion to the severity of the stroke, ought to be our thankfulness

that it was not inflicted sooner. Through a long series of years has God preserved our *Washington* a public blessing: and now that he has removed him for ever, shall we presume to say, *What doest thou?* Never did the tomb preach more powerfully the dependence of all things on the will of the Most High. The greatest of mortals crumble into dust, the moment he commands, *Return, ye children of men.* *Washington* was but the instrument of a benignant God. He sickens, he dies, that we may learn not to *trust in men*, nor to *make flesh our arm.* But though *Washington* is dead; Jehovah lives. God of our fathers! be our God, and the God of our children! Thou art our refuge and our hope; the pillar of our strength; the wall of our defence, and our unfading glory!

Americans! This God who raised up *Washington*, and gave you liberty, exacts from you the duty of cherishing it with a zeal according to knowledge. Never sully, by apathy or by outrage, your fair inheritance. Risk not, for one moment, on visionary theories, the solid blessings of your lot. To you, particularly, O youth of America! applies the solemn charge. In all the perils of your country, remember *Washington.* The freedom of reason and of right, has been handed down to you on the point of the hero's sword. Guard, with veneration, the sacred deposit. The curse of ages will rest upon you, O youth of America! if ever you surrender, to foreign ambition, or domestic lawlessness, the precious liberties for which *Washington* fought, and your fathers bled.

I cannot part with you, fellow-citizens, without urging the long remembrance of our pressent assembly. This day we wipe away the reproach of republics, that they know not how to be grateful. In your treatment of living patriots, recal your love and your regret of *Washington.* Let not future inconsistency charge this day with hypocrisy. Happy America, if she gives an instance of universal principle in her sorrows for the man "first in war, first in peace, and first in the affections of his country."

LETTER.

On the grand Inauguration of Washington *into the office of President of the United States from a letter, dated May 3d, 1789, written by a gentleman in New York, to his friend in Philadelphia.*

"I WAS extremely anxious to arrive here, in order to be present at the meeting of the President and the two houses. That event however, did not take place 'till Thursday last, when the President was qualified in the open gallery of the congress house, in the sight of many thousands of peole. The scene was solemn and awful, beyond description. It would seem extraordinary, that the administration of an oath—a ceremony so common and familiar—should in so great a degree excite the public curiosity. But the circumstance of *Washington's* election—the impression of his past services—the concourse of spectators—the devout fervency with which he repeated the oath—and the reverential manner in which he bowed down and kissed the sacred Volume.—All these conspired to render it one of the most august and interesting spectacles ever exhibited on this globe. It seemed from the number of witnesses, to be a solemn appeal to heaven and earth at once. Upon the subject of the great and good man, I may, perhaps, be an enthusiast; but, I confess, I was under an awful and religious persuasion, that the gracious Ruler of the universe was looking down at that moment, with peculiar complacency on an act, which, to a part of his creatures, was so very important.

"Under this impression, when the chancellor pronounced, in a very feeling manner "*long live George Washington*," my sensibility was wound up to such a pitch, that I could do no more than wave my hat with the rest, without the power of joining in the repeated acclamations which rent the air."

THE JEW'S ADDRESS.

Address of the Hebrew congregation in Newport, Rhode-Island, to the president of the United States of America, August 17, 1790.

SIR,

PERMIT the children of the stock of Abraham to approach you, with the most cordial affection and esteem for your person and merit—and to join with our fellow citizens in welcoming you to Newport.

With pleasure we reflect on those days—those days of difficulty and danger, when the God of Israel, who delivered David from the peril of the sword, shielded your head in the day of battle: and we rejoice to think, that the same spirit who rested in the bosom of the greatly beloved Daniel enabling him to preside over the provinces of the Babylonish empire, rests, and ever will rest, upon you, enabling you to discharge the arduous duties of *chief Magistrate* in these states.

Deprived, as we heretofore have been, of the invaluable rights of free citizens, we now, with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty Disposer of all events, behold a government erected by the *majesty of the people.*—A government which to bigotry gives no sanction, to persecution no assistance—but generously affords to ALL liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship—deeming every one, of whatever nation, tongue or language, equal parts of the great governmental machine. This so ample and extensive federal union, whose basis is philanthopy, mutual confidence, and public virtue, we cannot but acknowledge to be the work of the Great God, who ruleth in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, doing whatsoever seemeth to him good.

For all the blessings of civil and religious liberty, which we enjoy under an equal and benign administration, we desire to send up our thanks to the Ancient of days, the great Preserver of men—beseeching him, that the angel, who conducted our forefathers through the wilderness, into the promised land, may graciously conduct you through all the difficulties and dangers of this mortal life—And when, like Joshua, full of days and full of honour, you are gathered to your fathers, may you be admitted into the heavenly pa-

radise, to partake of the water of life, and the tree of immortality

Done and signed by order of the Hebrew congregation, in Newport, Rhode-Island.

(Signed) MOSES SEIXAS, *Warden.*

CATHOLICS' ADDRESS.

Address of the roman catholics to George Washington, *President of the United States.*

SIR,

WE have been long impatient to testify our joy and unbounded confidence on your being called, by an unanimous vote, to the first station of a country, in which that unanimity could not have been obtained without the previous merit of unexampled services, of eminent wisdom, and unblemished virtue. Our congratulations have not reached you sooner, because our scattered situation prevented our communication and the collecting of those sentiments which warmed every breast. But the delay has furnished us with the opportunity, not merely of presaging the happiness to be expected under your administration, but of bearing testimony, to that which we experience already. It is your peculiar talent, in war and in peace, to afford security to those, who commit their protection into your hands. In war, you shield them from the ravages of armed hostility: in peace, you establish public tranquility, by the justice and moderation, not less than by the vigour, of your government. By example, as well as by vigilance, you extend the influence of laws on the manners of our fellow citizens. You encourage respect for religion; and inculcate, by words and actions, that principle, on which the welfare of nations so much depends, that a superintending Providence governs the events of the world, and watches over the conduct of men. Your exalted maxims, and unwearied attention to the moral and physical improvement of our country, have produced already the happiest effects. Under your administration, America is animated with zeal for the attainment and encouragement of useful literature: she improves her agriculture; extends her commerce; and acquires with foreign nations a dignity unknown to her before. From these happy events, in which none can feel a warmer interest than ourselves, we derive additional

pleasure, by recollecting that you, Sir, have been the principal instrument to effect so rapid a change in our political situation. This prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us, on another account; because, whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well-founded title to claim from her justice *the equal rights of citizenship, as the price of our blood spilt under your eyes, and of our common exertions for her defence, under your auspicious conduct*—rights rendered more dear to us by the remembrance of former hardships. When we pray for the preservation of them, where they have been granted—and expect the full extension of them from the justice of those states, which still restrict them*—when we solicit the protection of heaven over our common country, we neither omit, nor can omit recommending your preservation to the singular care of divine providence; because we conceive that no human means are so available to promote the welfare of the United States, as the prolongation of your health and life, in which are included the energy of your example, the wisdom of your councils, and the persuasive eloquence of your virtues.

JOHN CARROLL,† *in behalf of the roman catholic clergy.*
CHARLES CARROLL, *of Carrollton,* } *in behalf*
DANIEL CARROLL, } *of the ro-*
DOMINICK LYNCH, } *man ca-*
THOMAS FITZSIMONS. } *tholic laity.*

† *Now (1813) Archbishop over the catholic church in America.*

NOTE.

* The restrictions here alluded to, are in the following clauses, which, for the information of our readers, we have extracted:

"No *protestant* inhabitant of this colony shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles: but all persons, possessing a belief in the faith of *any protestant sect*, who shall demean themselves peaceably under the government, as hereby established, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit and trust, &c.

Constitution of New Jersey, sect. 19.

"No person who shall deny the truth of the protestant religion, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in the civil department within this state."—Constitution of North Carolina, sect. 32.

ANSWER.

To the roman catholics in the United States of America.

Gentlemen,

WHILE I now receive with much satisfaction your congratulations on my being called, by an unanimous vote, to the first station in my country—I cannot but duly notice your politeness in offering an apology for the unavoidable delay. As that delay has given you an opportunity of realizing, instead of anticipating, the benefits of the general government—you will do me the justice to believe, that your testimony of the increase of the public prosperity, enhances the pleasure, which I should otherwise have experienced from your affectionate address.

I feel that my conduct, in war and in peace, has met with more general approbation than could have reasonably been expected: and I find myself disposed to consider that fortunate circumstance, in a great degree resulting from the able support, and extraordinary candour, of my fellow citizens of all denominations.

The prospect of national prosperity now before us, is truly animating; and ought to excite the exertions of all good men, to establish and secure the happiness of their country, in the permanent duration of its freedom and independence. America, under the smiles of divine Providence—the protection of a good government—and the cultivation of manners, morals, and piety—cannot fail of attaining an uncommon degree of eminence, in literature, commerce, agriculture, improvements at home, and respectability abroad.

As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that *all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community are equally entitled to the protection of civil government.* I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fel-

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"No person shall be eligible to a seat in the senate, unless he be of the protestant religion."

Constitution of South Carolina, sect. 12.

"No person shall be eligible to sit in the house of representatives, unless he be of the protestant religion."—Idem, 13.

low citizens *will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, and the establishment of their government*—or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the roman catholic faith is professed.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. While my life and my health shall continue, in whatever situation I may be, it shall be my constant endeavour to justify the favourable sentiments which your are pleased to express of my conduct. And may the members of your society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

March, 1790.

Letter from his Excellency General Washington to the Governor of Virginia, declining the acceptance of fifty shares in the companies for opening the navigation of the James and Potomac rivers, which had been vested in him by act of the Legislature of that Commonwealth, as a small acknowledgment of his merits and services.

YOUR excellency having been pleased to transmit me a copy of the act appropriating to my benefit certain shares in the companies for opening the navigation of James and Potomac rivers, I take the liberty of returning to the assembly, through your hands, the profound and grateful acknowledgments, inspired by so signal a mark of their benificent intentions towards me. I beg you, sir, to assure them, that I am filled on this occasion with every sentiment which can flow from a heart warm with love for my country—sensible to every token of its approbation and affection—and solicitous to testify, in every instance, a respectful submission to its wishes. With these sentiments in my bosom, I need not dwell on the anxiety I feel, in being obliged in this instance, to decline a favour, which is rendered no less flattering by the manner in which it is conveyed, than it is affectionate in itself. In explaining this obligation, I pass over a comparison of my endeavours in the public service, with the many honourable testimonies of approbation, which have already so far over-rated and over-paid them—reciting one consideration only, which supersedes the necessity of recuring to every

other. When I was first called to the station with which I was honoured during the late conflict for our liberties—to the diffidence which I had so many reasons to feel in accepting it, I thought it my duty to join a *firm resolution to shut my hands against every pecuniary recompence.* To this resolution I have inviolably adhered: and from this resolution (if I had the inclination), I do not consider myself at liberty to depart. Whilst I repeat, therefore, my fervent acknowledgements to the legislature for their very kind sentiments and intentions in my favour, and at the same time beg them to be persuaded that a remembrance of this singular proof of their goodness towards me will never cease to cherish returns of the warmest affection and gratitude—I must pray that their act, so far as it has for its object my personal emolument may not have its effect. But if it should please the general assembly to permit me to turn the destination of the fund vested in me, from my private emolument to objects of a public nature, it will be my study, in selecting these, to prove the sincerity of my gratitude, by prefering such as may appear most subservient to the enlightend and patriotic views of the legislature.

I am, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ADDRESS.

To his Excellency George Washington, *esquire, L. L. D. president of the United States of America, commander in chief of the army and navy thereof, &c. The address of the trustees and faculty of the university of the state of Pennsylvania.*

PERMIT, Sir, the university of the state of Pennsylvania, to join in the general joy, occasioned by your accession to the first office in the federal empire. It is by this honour, (the highest that America can bestow) that a grateful people express the affection which your eminent services have excited in their bosoms. It is this that has given them but one voice in their delegation of this important trust, and that unites the homage of the heart with the duty of the citizen. To be the first magistrate of a great empire is a station that many have attained: but to acquire it by the unanimous voice of a free people is an event, in the history of the world,

as rare as those illustrious virtues of which it is the just reward. We rejoice in an event so auspicious to our country: and we confidently hope that your endeavours to extend the blessings of good government will be crowned with a success as brilliant as that which distinguished your exertions in the defence of our freedom.

As guardians of this university (which boasts the honour of enrolling the name of your excellency among those of her sons) we anticipate the encouragement which such institutions will receive under your administration. The influence of sound learning on religion and manners, on government, liberty, and laws, will make it a favourite object in every civilized society: and the sciences, having experienced your protection amidst the convulsions of war, reasonably expect a distinguished patronage in the calm of peace.

We devoutly pray the Almighty Ruler of the universe, that you may long enjoy the felicity of that country which you have rescued from tyranny, and established in the blessings of freedom and independence; and that finally you may meet the reward which awaits his good and faithful servants.

THOMAS M'KEAN, *President.*

Philadelphia, April 20, 1789.

ANSWER.

To the trustees and faculty of the university of the state of Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen,

I ACCEPT, with peculiar pleasure, the address of the university of the state of Pennsylvania, upon my appointment to the first office of the union.

Notwithstanding I had most seriously determined never more to take any part in transactions of a public nature, yet a conviction of duty would not suffer me, on the present occasion, to refuse a compliance with the unanimous call of my country; nor could I remain insensible to the honour that was conferred upon me by this fresh and distinguished proof of its approbation.

Probably my fellow citizens anticipate too many and too great advantages from the appointment. It will, however, be an object, indeed, near to my heart, to verify, as far as may be in my power, those favourable

presentiments, by endeavouring to secure the liberty and promote the happiness of the American people.

I am not a little flattered by being considered by the patrons of literature as one in their number. Fully apprized of the influence which sound learning has on religion and manners, on government, liberty, and laws, I shall only lament my want of ability to make it still more extensive. I conceive hopes, however, that we are at the eve of a very enlightened era. The same unremitting exertions, which, under all the blasting storms of war, caused the arts and sciences to flourish in America, will doubtless bring them nearer to maturity, when they shall have been sufficiently invigorated by the milder rays of peace.

I return you my hearty thanks for your devout intercession at the throne of grace for my felicity both here and hereafter. May you also, gentlemen, after having been the happy instruments of diffusing the blessings of literature and the comforts of religion, receive the just compensation for your virtuous deeds.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ADDRESS.

Address of the mayor, corporation, and citizens of Alexandria, to the president of the United States.

To GEORGE WASHINGTON, *esqr.*

President of the United States, &c.

SIR,

AGAIN your country commands your care. Obedient to its wishes, unmindful of your ease, we see you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement; and this too, at a period of life, when nature itself seems to authorize a preference of repose!

Not to extol your glory as a soldier, not to pour forth our gratitude for past services—not to acknowledge the justice of the unexampled honour which has been conferred upon you, by the spontaneous and unanimous suffrage of three millions of freemen, in your election to the supreme magistracy—nor to admire the patriotism which directs your conduct, do your neighbours and friends now address you—themes less splendid but more endearing, impress our minds. The first and best

of citizens must leave us—our aged must lose their ornament—our youth their model—our agriculture its improver—our commerce its friend—our infant academy its protector—our poor their benefactor—and the interior navigation of the Potomac (an event replete with the most extensive utility, already, by your unremitted exertions, brought into partial use) its institutor and promoter.

Farewell!—Go! and make a grateful people happy—a people, who will be doubly grateful, when they contemplate this recent sacrifice for their interest.

To that Being, who maketh and unmaketh at his will, we commend you—and, after the accomplishment of the arduous business to which you are called, may he restore to us again, the best of men, and the most beloved fellow citizen!

In behalf of the people of Alexandria.

DENNIS RAMSAY.

April 16, 1789.

ANSWER.

To the mayor, corporation, and citizens of Alexandria.

Gentlemen,

ALTHOUGH I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe the painful emotions which I felt in being called upon to determine whether I would accept or refuse the presidency of the United States. The unanimity in the choice, the opinion of my friends, communicated from different parts of Europe, as well as of America, the apparent wish of those who were not entirely satisfied with the constitution in its present form—and an ardent desire on my own part to be instrumental in connecting the good will of my countrymen towards each other—have induced an acceptance. Those who know me best (and you, my fellow citizens, are, from your situation, in that number) know better than any others, my love of retirement is so great, that no earthy consideration, short of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution "never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature." For, at my age, and in my circumstances, what prospects or advantages could I propose to myself from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life?

I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your interests—the whole tenor of my life has been open to your inspection; and my past actions, must be the pledge of my future conduct.

In the mean time, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bade adieu to my domestic connexions, this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated, still further to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret at parting from the enjoyment of private life.

All that now remains for me, is to commit myself and you to the protection of that beneficent Being, who, on a former occasion, hath happily brought us together, after a long and distressing separation—perhaps the same gracious Providence will again indulge me. Unutterable sensations must then be left to more expressive silence; while from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate friends, and kind neighbours, farewell!

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ADDRESS.

Address of the citizens of Baltimore to the President of the United States of America.

SIR,

WE feel the honour you have this day conferred on the town of Baltimore, by favouring it with your presence, infinitely heightened and enhanced by the desirable event which has produced it. Happy to behold your elevation, permit us to reassure you of our purest love and affection.

In considering the occasion that has once more drawn you from scenes of domestic ease and private tranquility, our thoughts naturally turn on the situation of our country previous to the expedient of the late general convention. When you became a member of that body, which framed our new and excellent constitution, you dissipated the fears of good men who dreaded the disunion of the states, and the loss of our liberties in the death of our enfeebled and expiring confederation: and now, Sir, by accepting the high authorities of president

of the United States of America, you teach us to expect every blessing that can result from the wisest recommendations to congress and the most prudent and judicious exercise of those authorities; thus relieving us in the one instance, from the most gloomy apprehensions, as when, in a different capacity, you recrossed the Delaware; and, in the other, opening to our view, the most animating prospects, as when you captured Cornwallis.

But, it is from the whole tenor of your life, and your uniform and upright political principles and conduct, that we derive the fullest assurance, that our hopes will be realized. Believing, that a faithful performance of public engagements is essential to the prosperity of a people, and their implicit reliance on the promise of government, to its stability, we recollect with pleasure your well known sentiments on this subject, and have no doubt, but the other branches of congress will concur with you in placing public credit on the most solid foundation. We have also every reason to conclude, that under the administration of a *Washington*, the useful and ingenious arts of peace, the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the United States, will be duly favoured and improved, as being far more certain sources of national wealth than the richest mines, and surer means to promote the felicity of a people, than the most successful wars. Thus, Sir, we behold a new era springing out of our independence; and a field displayed, where your talents for governing will not be obscured by the splendour of the greatest military exploits. We behold, too, an extraordinary thing in the annals of mankind, a free and enlightened people, choosing, by a free election, without one dissenting voice, the late commander in chief of their armies, to watch over and guard their civil rights and privileges.

We sincerely pray that you may long enjoy your present health, and the citizens of the United States have frequent opportunities to testify their veneration of your virtues, by continuing you, through many successive elections, in the first station of human honour and dignity. In these expressions of our affection and attachment, we are sensible we do not speak the wishes a town only, but the United feelings of a whole people.

In behalf of the the citizens of Baltimore, we have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES M'HENRY,
NICHOLAS ROGERS,
JOSHUA BARNEY,
PAUL BENTALOU,
J. SWAN,
JOHN BANKSON,
R. SMITH,
O. H. WILLIAMS,
TH. SMITH,
WILLIAM CLEMM,
ISAAC GRIST.

Baltimore, April 17, 1789.

ANSWER.

Gentlemen,

THE tokens of regard and affection which I have often received from the citizens of this town, were always acceptable, because I believed them always sincere. Be pleased to receive my best acknowledgements for the renewal of them on the present occasion.

If the affectionate partiality of my fellow citizens has prompted them to ascribe greater effects to my conduct and character, than were justly due, I trust the indulgent sentiment on their part, will not produce any presumption on mine.

I cannot now, gentlemen, resist my feelings so much as to withhold the communication of my ideas, respecting the actual situation and prospect of our national affairs. It appears to me that little more than common sense and common honesty in the transactions of the community at large, would be necessary to make us a great and happy nation. For if the general government, lately adopted, shall be arranged and administered in such a manner as to acquire the full confidence of the American people, I sincerely believe they will have greater advantages from their natural, moral, and political circumstances, for public felicity, than any other people ever possessed.

In the contemplation of those advantages, now soon to be realized, I have reconciled myself to the sacrifice of my fondest wishes, so far as to enter again upon the

stage of public life. I know the delicate nature of the duties incident to the part which I am called to perform, and I feel my incompetence, without the singular assistance of Providence to discharge them in a satisfactory manner. But having undertaken the task, from a sense of duty, no fear of encountering difficulties, and no dread of losing popularity shall ever deter me from pursuing what I conceive to be the true interests of my country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

A

SERMON,

ON THE DEATH

OF

GENERAL

GEORGE WASHINGTON:

BY

MAJOR THOMAS MORRELL,

DELIVERED IN THE CITY OF BALTIMORE
ON THE 22d DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1800.

Psalm lxxxix, 48.

What man is he that liveth and shall not see death?

IT has been the custom in every civilized nation, to perpetuate the memory of illustrious men by monumental inscriptions; or in the historic page to record their worth, and to hold up to view their peculiar virtues, not only for the admiration, but for the imitation of succeeding ages: And to promote the same laudable purposes, funeral sermons, and orations have, for several hundred years, been delivered in Europe. And I am persuaded, that scarcely a congregation in America, hardly a preacher in the United States would have omitted this last tribute of respect, to the worthy character whose death we this day deplore, if, the government had *not* recommended it. Let the solemn

funeral processions in our cities, and villages—Let the elegies, and the orations, that have already been written and delivered—Let the tokens of mourning so generally worn throughout our nation—Let *these avouch* the truth of my sentiment, that; *Washington*, the great, the virtuous *Washington*, as he lived *almost* universally admired and loved, so he died *universally* lamented. Our assembling in this church this morning is a partial evidence, that we are of the number who conceive his death to be a loss to our country. But let us remember that Washington is not *alone to die;* that, we shall *soon* follow him into the region of eternity, and that the great business of *our* life is to be prepared for *our* death. To assist my hearers in seeking this preparation, and to recount the virtues of *our* illustrious patriot, *our* hero and *our* friend, are the designs I have in view in this discourse; and in order to execute these important purposes, I shall in the

First place, briefly consider the origin—the nature—and the effects of death; and Secondly, illustrate the happy consequences of being prepared for this awful hour; and under this head shall introduce the *character of our departed and beloved General.—In pursuance of this method, I begin with considering the origin, nature and effects of death. First, its origin. Here we are entirely indebted for information to the sacred oracles; we might enquire, but enquire in vain at any other source to know, whether man was made originally mortal, or, became so by any casualty. Revelation assures us, Rom. v, 12, "Wherefore as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." Our first progenitor having tasted the interdicted fruit, became instantly liable to the threatened penalty. "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." Gen. xi. 17. On that day his soul died to God. i. e, he lost that knowledge of, and love to God, he so emi-

** The historic and characteristic parts of this sermon are derived from the most respectable authorities; or given on my own knowledge. The publications from which I have made extracts, are Dr. Morse's Geography; a piece said to be written by a senator of the United States, and published in the newspapers of this city; and General Lee's oration. Sometimes I have omitted whole sentneces in the quotations, in order to include in as few words as possible, the great variety of matter necessarily introduced.*

nently possessed before his transgression; and his body with those of his posterity became inevitably subject to death.

Secondly, The nature of death; death is the dissolution of the union subsisting between our bodies and our souls; on this union the animal life depends. This union it is impossible in our present state to understand, or describe; it is one of the mysteries that in eternity only we shall be able to comprehend. This union is dissolved by the command, or permission of God, when he summons our spirit hence. He gave us life, and when he pleases he divests us of it. In vain we try with all our efforts to retain the spirit of departing friends; our prayers, and tears are of no avail; they faulter—they sink—they die.

"When by the bed of languishment we sit,
"Or, o'er our dying friends, in anguish hang,
"Wipe the cold dew, or stay the sinking head,
"Number their moments, and in ev'ry clock,
"Start at the voice of an eternity;
"See the dim lamp of life just feebly lift
"An agonising beam, at us to gaze,
"Then sink again, and quiver into death."
Young.

Thirdly, The effects of death. 1st, It is the termination of our present existence; the final period of our joys and sorrows concerning the things of this life. The sun shall rise with its accustomed lustre, and spread its beaming light, and genial warmth throughout the earth; but not to them who are in the cold and dreary mansions of the grave. The busy scenes of life no more attract the sight, nor the love of riches, fame or pleasure, arrest the midnight hour of sleep. See, the corpse all pale and wan!—It's active strength is gone!—It's vigour prostrate!—It's hands forgot to move, the pliant fingers stiff and cold! Once we surveyed our friend; we saw, admired and loved—Once we viewed our rising offspring, and as they played and prattled our hearts beat fondness. But, they are dead! Not many days since we met the eye of our friend—Our love, with joy and pleasure; but its closed forever, no more to convey in silent language, the soft, the tender movements of the heart. The tongue, that busy member so prone to please—to hurt—to wound, moves now no more in scandal or in praise. Death! death! displays his

triumphs over every part, and silence, awful, universal silence reigns.

Death renders all distinctions void. If we view the repositories of our lifeless bodies: we shall see persons of every age and character, of every rank and condition in life; the young and the old, the poor and the rich, the gay and the grave, all mingling promiscuously their dust *together* in their parent earth. There the poor oppressed slave lays down at last the burden of his toilsome life, and feels his cruel servitude no more; no more to be raised from needful slumber on his bed of earth, nor driven from his scanty meal to the hard labours of the day. There lieth the aged parent of a numerous offspring who sunk into rest amidst the tears of his progeny. Here is entombed the smiling infant: the flower nipped as it began to blow. The parents wonder why heaven has been so unkind, and are ready to say (although improperly) "All these things are against me." Thus one generation cometh, and passeth away, another riseth, and is no more seen. We may say therefore at the tomb of the monarch, as well as the slave,

"A heap of dust alone remains of thee,
"'Tis all thou art, and all the proud shall be,"

Oh! transitory and fleeting life. When will the sons of men learn to think of thee as they ought? When will they *every day*, nay *every hour* recollect, that nothing can shield them from the stroke of death? "That there is no escape in that war?" If consummate beauty could have saved from death, Absalom, nor Helen would never have died. If valour could have stopped his career, Alexander would be *now* traversing the earth. If philosophic wisdom, learning or judgment, could have saved mortals from his icy arms, a Newton, a Critchton, and a Locke would still have been living. If piety and usefulness could have saved our existance here, a Usher, and a Baxter; a Whitefield, and a Wesley would be daily displaying their holy and heavenly zeal, in building up the church of God; and if love of his country, disinterestedness, gentleness, humanity, valour, and patriotism could have eluded the insatiate monster's grasp, our *Washington* would not have been laid in the silent tomb. But the unchangeable decree of heaven is "*Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.*" And we may enquire in the language of our

text, what man is he that liveth, and shall *not* see death? But our enquiry will be *fruitless and vain.*

Another effect of death is still more awful. It is the gate that opens into eternity—It leads us to God; to receive a reward or a punishment, as our works have been; to hear our impartial, irrevocable doom. No time now for repentence, no promises of acceptance, or pardon to encourage us; no sermons to direct us to the sinner's friend; no friends to counsel and to pray for us; our state is unalterably, unchangeably fixed. How necessary then is it, that we NOW endeavour to attain a suitable preparation for the solemn moment? The happy consequences attending such a preparation, I was in the *second* place to point out. Here we may *first* enquire what this preparation is? And

1*st.* We have all sinned against our maker. If we say we *have not sinned*, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us. 1 John 1 chap. 10v. We are *guilty* therefore before God; and if the holy law which we have violated is a righteous law; we are consequently *justly* condemned; and if so, must be under the displeasure of the MOST HIGH. This guilt therefore *must* be pardoned, those sins *must* be forgiven, or God will *not* receive us to favour or to happiness. Our guilt can only be removed, and pardon bestowed, through a deep consciousness of our lost and sinful state; wrought in our souls by the *Holy Spirit*, exciting us to confess—to mourn for, and to forsake our sins; and by looking to, and believing in that glorious Saviour who died for our offences. A cloud of scriptures prove these important truths. I shall refer you only to Matt. v. 4. Luke xiii. 3. John xvi. 8, & iii. 16. Proverbs xxviii. 13.

3*dly.* We are unholy, and consequently unfit for the company and employment of heaven. It would be an insult to those who have Bibles in their possession, or attend to the exercises of their own mind, to suppose them ignorant of this essential truth. If any doubt it, let them read Psalm xiv. 2, 3 & li. 5. Rom. vi. 16 to 22. Isai. i. 6. In fact, all the exhortations to purity and holiness, with which the scripture abounds, necessarily presuppose that we are unholy. Then it clearly follows, we *must* be made holy, must have a disposition suited to the nature of heaven, "For without holiness no man shall see the Lord," Heb. xii. 14. And as we cannot make *ourselves holy*, it must be wrought *in us* by the power and grace of God. The suitable preparation for death then is; to be *justified* through faith in the

merit and righteousness of the Lord Jesus; and to be *sanctified* through the same medium, by the spirit of the living God. That without this work of grace we can have no admittance to heaven, is undeniably proved from Acts xxviii. 18. 1 Cor. vi. 11. Col. i. 12, 15, 22. Heb. xii. 14. From this work of grace *always* proceeds a holy obedience to the precepts of the gospel. Our redeemer hath given us this test to try our religion. "He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, *he it is* that loveth ME." That happiness attending such a preparation I am now to point out. And

1*st.* Such gracious souls have an abiding confidence of the favour of God. St. Paul says, "*We know* that if the earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." And he again informs us, We are *always confident*, &c. &c. 2 Cor. v. 1—5—6. How exquisite the joy that arises from this consciousness of the favour of God, it is beyond the power of language to communicate; called therefore by one who possessed it for many years and who could have described it, if any man could, "a joy unspeakable and full of glory." This sweet sensibility of our heavenly father's love, chases from the mind the fear of death. xxiii. 4. "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death *I will fear no evil.*" This calms the terrors and draws the sting of death: "This sting of death is sin, but thanks be to God who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." 1 Cor. xv. 56. Victory! over its horrors that it cannot amaze; victory! over its power that it cannot detain.

Therefore,

2*ndly.* In every saint when God calls him hence, there is a *willingness* to go. The grace and love of God opens his *grasp* of life. Although his friends—his bosom friend—his rising progeny are entwined about his heart, with the cords of earthly affection, so close and firm, that with the highest aids of reason they can never be loosed. But when our Jesus shines into the soul with a ray of heavenly light and joy, his language is "I desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better" Some of the saints die in the full triumphs of faith; while others equally pious, who are greatly emaciated by lingering disease, feel sweet submission, and sail more gently with a peaceful stream into the haven of eternal rest. Some have had hard fighting with the adversary on the confines of eternity, but have *always*

obtained the victory before the conflict closed. "My grace is sufficient for thee." And "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee," are the legacies left to every saint.

3dly. They rest from all their toils. "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labours: and their works do follow them." Rev. xiv. 13. In this life their joys were intermingled with sorrows; "But when the ransomed of the Lord shall return to Zion, they shall obtain joy and gladness, and *sorrow and sighing* shall flee away." Isai. xxxv. 10. Their grief and sorrows in this life arise from many causes, not necessary now to enumerate; but in that [illegible] which remains for the people of God," every tear is wiped from every eye; there sorrow never comes; there all is calm, and joy and peace.

Once more,

4thly. To crown their joys they receive the approbation of their God. "Well done good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joys of thy Lord." The smiles of their heavenly father when introduced into his glorious presence, fill their enlarged souls with extatic rapture. But on this part of the subject I shall not endeavour to enlarge; our excursions might probably sully the views of that land of rest, they endeavour to exalt. I shall only say, that besides the presence, and manifested love of their God, and their Saviour, they shall mingle with prophets, patriarchs, and apostles, and with all those great, pious, and illustrious spirits, who through faith and patience have already inherited the promises. Amidst this heavenly choir; this bright assemblage of the spirits of the just made perfect, we may humbly hope our much loved *Washington* is gone to dwell among them; to celebrate in celestial strains, the love that redeemed him, and the care which protected him in the greatest dangers, and at last conducted him to the blissful region of love and praise; where neither the sound, nor the alarm of war is ever heard—Where peace eternal dwells—Where joy seraphic reigns.

This day is dedicated by authority publicly to express our sorrow (though with submission to heaven) for his removal. This day is peculiarly set apart to rehearse his matchless deeds—To recount his virtues, and declare his praise.

"He was born the 11th of February, 1732, (old stile,) at the parish of *Washington*, Westmoreland county, in

Virginia. Was the first fruit of a second marriage, and received his education from a private tutor employed in the family. He early discovered a disposition for a military life; and at the age of fifteen was entered as a midshipman on board a British man of war then on the American coast, but the reluctance his mother expressed to his engaging in the sea service, occasioned the prosecution of the plan to be abandoned.

"Previous to this transaction when he was but ten years of age, his father died, and the charge of the family devolved on his elder brother: This brother had a command in the colonial troops employed against Carthagenia; and on his return from that expedition named his new patrimonial mansion, *Mount Vernon*, in honour of the admiral of that name from whom he had received many civilities, and who commanded the squadron on that expedition. But he did not long survive; at his decease the eldest son by the second marriage (who was our *Washington)* inherited this seat, and a considerable landed property. Before he attained to his twentieth year, he was made adjutant-general of the militia in Virginia with the rank of major. When he was about 21 years old, an event occured which called forth his abilities into public notice. In 1753, encroachments were reported to have been made by the French on the territories of the British colonies to the westward. Major *Washington* was sent with full powers to ascertain the facts; to treat with the savages; and to warn the French to desist from their aggressions; he performed the duties of this mission with singular industry, intelligence and address; and his report to governor Didwiddie discovered those talents in embryo, which have since been unfolded to general admiration." In 1755, he was advanced to the rank of colonel, in the provincial troops employed in conjunction with the British forces, to drive the French from their encroachments on our frontiers. We have all heard, or read of the obstinate, and unfortunate Braddock who commanded those forces. He was totally defeated, slain himself, his whole forces routed, British and American blood mingling and flowing in torrents along the banks of the Monongahela. "It was here our youthful *Washington* in the gloomy hour of Indian victory, saved by his judgment and his valour, the remains of a flying army, pressed by the conquering savage foe." It was on this occasion that the Rev. Mr. Davies, who was afterwards president of Princeton college uttered that

remarkable prophecy, "That *Washington* was raiseh up by the providence of God to be the *protector and saviour of his country.*" In this war he had at different times separate command, in all which victory declared *Washington* her future favourite. The great fatigues he underwent in the three succeeding years of the war, brought on a complaint of the lungs, which it was *then* thought would prove mortal; and tranquillity being at this time restored to the frontiers by a series of splendid victories gained by American and British valour; Colonel *Washington* resigned his military appointment. His health was gradually re-established; and until the beginning of the American revolution he cultivated the arts of peace; he was constantly a member of the Virginia assembly; a magistrate of his county; and a judge of the court.

The worth of *Washington* was not yet *fully* known. "Once more the gathering storm of war agitates this peaceful country—our rights are violated by *Britain*—our privileges abridged—a tribute claimed—a sense of *fancied* superior power, requiring submission presents itself. From the shore to the mountains—from Georgia to Maine, all is commotion, while resentment, hope and despair alternately predominate." In '74 a continental congress convened, *Washington* was chosen a delegate from his native state; the next year he was chosen again. The aggressions of Britain, and the insolence of her officers increased. They spilled American blood at Lexington in the month of April—Horror, and resentment thrilled through our hearts. *To arms, to arms*, the patriots cry! *To arm, to arms*, reechoed through the land; while I remember the eventful period, the sound still vibrates on the ear. We appealed to the world that we were *forced* into the contest. We appealed to heaven for the *justice* of our cause. An army was collected in the vicinity of Boston. *Washington* was appointed to command. A seven years war succeeded. The memorable events are too recent to need a particular recital. It closed in the dismemberment of a mighty Empire; in the establishment of American freedom.

The warrior's sword is sheathed, and the graceful victor comes dressed in the garland of peace. His country now completely triumphant, is universally acknowledged independent and free.—Now he enjoys a full recompence for all his toils, a consciousness of having done his duty *with effect;* and with the approbation of

his fellow citizens. "Entwined with laurel he now returns to his native home equally the object of esteem and admiration: He lives the theme of the brave, the counsel of the wise, the benefactor of the poor, and the friend of mankind."

The confederation these states had formed in the hour of danger, was found after eleven years trial to be inadequate for a peaceful system; indeed, it was a compound of necessity and jealousy which threatened danger only held together; the danger being over, it relaxed in all its parts, and was rapidly sinking to a dissolution. The necessity of a new system of government appeared to all—A convention was called—*Washington* presided. A consitution is formed on the model of human perfection; combining in its various branches whatever is excellent in every other form of government, and partaking of *none* of their defects.——In this constitution an executive Magistrate is wanted to enforce its laws, when the unanimous voice of our country call him to be President of the United States. "Under his administration industry raised her drooping head—Agriculture resumed her plough—virtue smiled—learning rejoiced—commerce flourished"——peace and plenty; joy and gladness were seen and heard throughout our land; but the revolutions and wars in Europe reach in their effects our happy shores, and threaten our country's peace. He proclaims the laws of peace; yet wisely *prepares* for war. He lays the foundation of his policy in the principles of private justice and public faith;" from these he deviates not a moment, and his country now feels and rejoices in their good effects. How well he performed his part, how highly we esteemed, and approved his conduct, are clearly evinced by the universal call for him to fill the presidental chair again without *one* dissenting voice. "Again he serves, and again he manifests that he is still the same wise and faithful guide." To recount all his services, and the difficulty of steering at the helm of government, amidst the convulsive wars and jarring interests of the European nations, would take up too much time; let it suffice to say, that wisdom, prudence and firmness were discovered on every occasion. His duty well performed he once more returns to domestic life. "He served from a sense of duty, and he retired from a voluntary choice." But how uncertain is the state of human affairs. While we are cultivating peace with all the hostile powers, a cloud gathered in our horizon, and the

alarm of threatened war again was heard throughout our land. Our cities, our villages resound with martial music; embattled ranks of volunteers proffer their service to repel the foe—an army is raising, and *Washington*, the aged *Washington* is invited to command. When his country calls, he instantly obeys; he accepted the charge, and confidence cheers our anxious minds. But, oh! he is gone—No more! in case of war to lead our armies to victory; to grace our councils with his presence, and enlighten them by his wisdom. He is gone! to the silent mansions of the dead! Yet he lives in the hearts of the American people. He lives in the esteem and admiration of the world—And while suns shall rise and set; while virtue remains on the earth, the name of *Washington* shall be pronounced with veneration.

In collecting, and arranging materials for this luminous character, from the observations of others, and from my own knowledge: considerable difficulties have occured in determining what parts to retain, or to omit. *The all of Washington was worth rehearsing*; but this would have lengthened my discourse beyond all reasonable bounds, and I fear that I have already tresspassed on your patience; but as you will not probably hear another sermon on this interesting subject; be pleased to permit me before I conclude, to point out a few of the excellencies of his mind, exemplified in correspondent actions.

First, As a soldier and a commander he was intrepid and brave, he was cool and determined. Let the dangerous, but successful attack he made at Trenton, in the dead of winter, in a dark and gloomy night, with dispirited soldiers, evince his prowess and the vigour of his mind. "He fought——He conquered——The morning sun cheered the American world——Our country *rose* on the event." Let his retiring not long after this victory, from the front of a numerous army, and while he retreated *unperceived* from their front, he unexpectedly fell upon their rear cantoned at Princeton, and captured the whole. Let these masterly manœuvres declare his superior knowledge in the art of war. They will testify to succeeding ages, his sagacity, his prudence, and his valour——Long Island can witness a retreat not surpassed in the page of history; an hostile army in his front, not two hundred yards distant, consisting of more than *three times* his number; a rapid river a full mile wide in his rear; the enemies shipping

ready to move in order to cut off his *only* retreat; not boats sufficient to transport a fifth part of his army at once, this army unused to discipline; and consequently to silence. Under all these disadvantages almost impossible to be surmounted by any other general; he brought off his troops to the great surprise of the enemy, without loss of a *single man.*——Let the hills of Brandywine—Let the fields of Germantown—Let the fields of Monmouth witness his bravery, his cool and determined valour. How often have I seen him undismayed in the greatest danger, giving his orders with calmness, while deaths flew thick around.*

2*ndly.* He was apparently unmoved in the most adverse circumstances. Ah! my brethren had *you seen* our little army in the fall of '76 retreating through the Jerseys, after the enemy had made the garrison of fort Washington prisoners of war; had you seen the small remains of this army diminishing every day by the time of their enlistments expiring; scarcely amounting to 3000 men; had you beheld these brave soldiers without sufficient cloathing, shivering with cold; had you observed many of them to be without shoes, and the frozen ground marked with the *blood* that issued from their uncovered feet, as they marched along; had you seen this little band pressed by a numerous well appointed army, with a formidable train of artillery, and a proportionate number of dragoons; had you seen the militia at this *early period* of the war, (unused to such sad reverses) appearing like persons in the deepest amazement, and few of them to be found embodied;† had you seen the inhabitants who were friends to their country for eighty miles in length, and from six to twelve miles in breadth flying in all directions, to secure their moveable property, preserve their families, and save their lives; had you seen all this consterna-

* *The author of this discourse was an officer in the continental army, in the Jersey line, and was in every action in the revolutionary war, where the illustrious* Washington *personally commanded; except the battle of Monmouth, and the siege of York Town.*

† *After the army had retreated across the Delaware, General* Washington *was reinforced by a body of Pennsylvania militia, previous to the attack at Trenton; and at the same time the Jersey militia embodied in numbers, and skirmished with the enemy.*

tion; had you heard our *intestine enemies* (when not over-awed by superior numbers) exulting in the prospect of *British conquest;* had you heard the most sanguine friends of their country's freedom giving up in a moment of despair: *that all was lost;* you might have read dismay on *almost* every countenance. All looked to *Washington.* No sorrow seemed to set on his brow. He was serene and clear as the unclouded sun. He was indeed more than a host. His words, his example, his countenance, all jointly contributed to inspire us with confidence and courage. To finish this part of his character *I must say* that he was unequalled by any of the heroes of antiquity; by any general of modern times. They *shrink* from the comparison.—They possessed virtue, it is true, but they were tarnished by their defects. Alexander was brave like *Washington,* but he was cruel and intemperate. Cæsar was intrepid, but he enslaved his country. Cromwell was wise and successful, but he acted like a hypocrite, and aimed at the regal powers. Suwarrow is undoubted a great commander, but has he not *boasted* of his atchievement? Buonaparte is full of martial fire, is an able and excellant general, but has he not like Cromwell destroyed the sacred right of election? the grand palladium of liberty. Has he not undertaken to frame a constitution for the French people, when they have *not delegated to HIM this authority?* Marlborough in the reign of Queen Anne, in many things most resembles our *Washington.* He had, like our hero, a handsome person, and an elegant manner of address. He was wise in the cabinet, he was brave in the field—he knew when to attack and when to be passive—he possessed great calmness in action, and was merciful in victory; but Marlborough, the famous Marlborough, was *avaricious.* He possessed by the bounty of his country the highest honours, and one of the greatest estates in England. Yet he defrauded the soldiers by diminishing their allowance of bread, and applying their loss to his own use; the cloth for the use of his soldiers was purchased by *his agents* and overcharged to the government; these disgraceful speculations caused a poet* of his time to satirize him in the following lines:

"Triumphant leaders at an army's head,
Henum'd round with glories, *pilfer* cloth and bread,
As meanly plunder, as they bravely fought;
Now save a nation, and now save a groat." *Pope.

But our *Washington* was disinterested. Let it be remembered that he received *no pay* for his long and toilsome services: he suffered, he fought for his country's freedom, and not for its money. Let it be known that when the governor and legislature of Virginia, by an act of that commonwealth vested in him fifty shares in the companies for opening the navigation of the James and Potomac rivers, as a small acknowledgement of his merit and services; he made this noble and generous reply: "When I was first called to the station with which I was honoured during the late conflict for our liberties; to the diffidence which I had so many reasons to feel in accepting it, I thought it my duty to join a firm resolution to shut my hand against *every pecuniary recompence.*"

He was not ambitious of retaining power. I adduce his cheerful and voluntary resignation of the command of the army as a sufficient proof. Let his intention of retiring from the Presidentship when the term of his first election expired (though certain of being re-elected) demonstrate to the world, that his motives were pure; that neither ambition, nor the love of power reigned in his breast.

As a statesman he was well informed. He understood the true interests of his country, and pursued them with undeviating ardour. With what ability and skill he conducted the helm of government undeniably appears in the unparalleled growing greatness of our country.

He was a useful citizen; as he ever paid the strictest obedience to the laws of the land. He encouraged every plan calculated to increase the welfare of our country. Some of the measures entered into, for the opening, and improving our inland navigation, are said to have originated with him; and it is certain that he promoted every measure of public utility by all the means in his power.

He was mild and condescending, and never treated with contemptuous language, any person that behaved with propriety, or addressed him with decency. He had none of that *hauteur* of office, so frequently discovered in some men, who are in exalted stations: he was always accessible, at suitable times by the private soldier, and the poorest citizen.

He was humane and merciful. No unnecessary punishment appeared in our army; he always pardoned

when consistent with prudence, and the good of the service would possibly admit of it.

He was temperate, and decent in all his deportment. No noisy, indecent, (much less impious)* mirth was allowed in his presence; no excess nor luxury was permitted at his table; he conducted himself on every occasion with *uncommon propriety and decorum*, and evinced to all, that he was not only the wise statesman, and the great commander, but that he was *really* a gentleman.

He was charitable and generous. His secretary informed *me* in New York, that during his residence in that city, he distributed to the common objects of distress that resorted to his house for relief, upwards of a guinea every day; besides what he gave occasionally in larger amounts to persons of worth, who had been reduced to poverty. Let his generous gifts to charity schools in his life time—Let the ample donations in his will, for similar purposes, and the advancement of learning, declare that *Washington* was charitable and generous.—*His Will*, Ah! let *his will* prove that he possessed a benificent heart. What sweet emotions of philantrophy moved in his breast while he penned that *heaven-inspired* sentence; *All my negroes are to be free!* What soft benevolence flowed through his soul, when he made provisions for the helpless infancy, and decripid age that should be found among them? While I am reciting these magnanimous acts of *Washington*; I catch some of his generous spirit, and am ready to exclaim, happy slaves! thrice happy master! and to raise my heart to the Great Eternal in devout supplication; that he would be pleased to incline the hearts of those in similar circumstances, *to imitate so noble an example.*

He had a deep and solemn reverence for God and religion. During his residence in Philadelphia, he generally kept a Bible open in a private apartment,† to which

* *In the fall of* '76, *he reproved a general officer at his table, for attempting to ridicule the ceremony of asking a blessing before they sat down to dinner, which ceremony General* Washington *very politely asked a gentleman to perform, who had been invited to dine with him.*

† *The author of this discourse was stationed at Philadelphia in* 1794, *as a preacher in that church of which he is a minister; and received the above recited fact through a channel which leaves in* his mind *no doubt of its authenticity.*

he used to resort; he frequently attended public prayer, and preaching in the army; and as we had chaplains of different denominations, he gave a proof that his mind was not confined with narrow bigotry, by attending at convenient opportunies, the prayers at the different brigades, and regiments. While he resided in New York and Philadelphia, he regularly attended divine service in that church of which he was a member. Let it be remembered to his praise, that he always attributed to the superintending *providence of God*, the success of every measure both civil and military. The answers to *all* the numerous addresses presented to him on his first elevation to the Presidential chair—All his proclamations—all his public addresses to the army—to our citizens—to the world, all jointly conspire to testify, that he acknowledged, and *felt* his dependance on the DEITY for assistance, and direction in the performance of every duty to which he was called. In a word: although many have been equally brave as soldiers—Equally patriotic as citizens; while some have been equally charitable and generous, mild and humane, while others have been equally wise, unambitious, or pious; I have not known; I have not heard of; I have not read of, *one man* in whom all these qualities and virtues have been concentrated as in our *Washington*. And to close our description of his character in the words of another. "Whether we view him in the field or in the cabinet; the shade of retirement or chair of state, he is ever the same. Great and powerful in command. A hero in the day of battle. In victory mild and merciful. In policy, uniting perfection of system with grandeur of design. Firm and unshaken in the face of danger, and storms of adversity. Uniting and blending with all; gentleness and simplicity of manners. With pure and bright morality. "And thus forming a character as well calculated to inspire confidence; command respect, and benefit his country, as ever was exhibited by a mortal man!"—Then let love and gratitude enrol his name among the wise, the honorable, and the virtuous of every age.—And the people of America to the latest generations, shall speak of *Washington* with veneration and delight. He died on the 14th of December, 1799; had he lived to this day, he would have been 68 years old. He died with composure of mind, without any dread of death. We hope, we humbly hope, *we have reason to hope he is gone to God.*

To conclude—We are not called to the command of armies, or to fill the chair of state; but we are called to be good citizens; let us then imitate our departed *Washington*, in obeying the laws of our country; in promoting its welfare by every laudable means in our power. Let us practice all the relative and social virtues as he has done before us; let us be humble and temperate, and mild and condescending, and charitable and generous, let us fill up our several stations with duty and dignity; with propriety and decency. We are called to be christians, let us then prize in our judgments, and obey in our practice, the sacred truths, and holy precepts in the word of God.

We are called this day by the providence of God; by the death of *Washington*; and the voice of the preacher, to remember, THAT WE ARE TO DIE. That in a few years at most our bodies will be carried on men's shoulders, and lodged in the cold and silent tomb, and our souls shall wing their flight into a dreadful, or, a glorious eternity; where we must lie down in unabating sorrows, or, be raised to everling joys. Let us remember that it is our duty and our privilege; our wisdom and our interest, to be prepared for those solemn scenes. "Let our faith this day be to us as the *evidence* of things not seen," and bring home to our hearts an impressive view *of our near approach* to the world of spirits; and while solemnity rests on our minds, let us raise our hearts to God in fervent prayer; that he would be pleased to enlighten our minds by the *Holy Spirit*, to a discovery of our wretched and guilty state; of the evil and malignant nature of sin; and excite in us answerable affections to this view of ourselves; that we may detest every evil way, and turn to the Lord our God; and under a deep consciousness of the *just desert* of our transgressions, that we may apply to, and believe in, the meritorious mediation of the adorable Jesus, for the remission of sins that are past. And being thus brought into the favour of God, we may from love and gratitude, be "stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord;" that we may "increase in the knowledge and love of God;" and through mercy and grace, attain a *meetness* to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light, that when our spirits are disembodied, we may join those holy souls who have left this

world before us, in adoring, and praising the God of our salvation. God grant it for Christ's sake. AMEN.

CONCLUSION.

TAKING *Washington* all for all, we shall hardly ever look upon his like again.

FINIS.

CONTENTS.